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MEMOIRS

OF

EDMUND LUDLOW, Esq.

VOL. II.

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THE Act for putting a Period to the Parliament was ſtill before a Committee of the whole Houſe, who had made a conſiderable Progreſs therein, having agreed upon a more equal Diſtribution of the Power of Election throughout *England*: And whereas formerly ſome Boroughs that had ſcarce a Houſe upon them choſe two Members to be their Repreſentatives in Parliament, (juſt as many as the greateſt Cities in *England*, *London* only excepted) and the ſingle County of *Cornwall* elected forty four, when *Eſſex* and other Counties bearing as great a ſhare in the Payment of Taxes, ſent no more than ſix or eight; this unequal Repreſentation of the People the Parliament reſolved to correct, and to permit only ſome of the principal Cities and Boroughs to chuſe, and that for the moſt part

but one Repreſentative, the City of *London* only excepted, which on account of the great proportion of their Contributions and Taxes were allowed to elect ſix. The reſt of the four hundred, whereof the Parliament was to conſiſt, (beſides thoſe that ſerved for *Ireland* and *Scotland*) were appointed to be choſen by the ſeveral Counties, in as near a proportion as was poſſible to the Sums charged upon them for the Service of the State, and all Men admitted to be Electors who were worth two hundred Pounds in Lands, Leaſes or Goods.

Divers Informations were brought againſt the Iriſh for Murders committed at the beginning of the Rebellion, and ſince upon the Engliſh. The Principal of the Accuſed were Col. *Maccarty Reagh*, who was ſeized in the County of *Cork*; the Lord *Mayo* in the County of *Galway*; the Mother of Col. *Fitz-Patrick* in the Province of *Leinſter*, with many others. And for the Encouragement of the Plantations in *Ireland*, the Parliament permitted the People of *England* to tranſport thither all ſorts of Cattel and Grain free of all Cuſtom, and ordered that their Commiſſioners in *Ireland* ſhould raiſe a Revenue there for all ſuch as had been wounded and diſabled, and for the Widows and Children of thoſe that had been killed in the Publick Service.

The Vice Admiral of Prince *Rupert*'s Fleet carrying forty Pieces of Cannon, was brought into *Plymouth* by the Engliſh Seamen ſhe had

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on board, who finding a favourable occaſion, near *Cape de Verd* ſeized the Captain and the reſt of the Company, being all French and Dutch: Upon which the Council of State received Orders from the Parliament to reward the ſaid Seamen, and to prepare an Act to encourage others to follow their Example.

The Dutch Admiral *Van Trump*, with one hundred and ten Ships of War, and ſome Fire-ſhips, being joined by ſeventeen Men of War from *Zealand*, ſailed from *Goree* with Orders to convoy ſafe out of the Channel a Fleet of near five hundred Merchant Ships, deſigned for *France*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Italy*, *Barbary*, and the *Levant*, and to take all the Advantages he could againſt the Engliſh. Hereupon the Parliament paſſed an Act for the Sale of the Eſtates of ſome, who having been adjudged Delinquents, had refuſed to lay hold of the Favour extended to them of Compounding; which they did to eaſe the People of ſome part of the Charge of this War againſt the Dutch; yet their Occaſions were ſo preſſing, that they were conſtrained to lay a Tax for ſome Months of one hundred and twenty thouſand Pounds a Month, which the People willingly paid, becauſe they knew that it was wholly employed in their Service.

Moſt of the Dutch Merchant Ships were by bad Weather and contrary Winds driven back into their Harbours, but their Men of War kept out at Sea; and *Van Trump* having re-

ceived Advice that Admiral *Blake* had ſent away twenty of his Ships to convoy a Fleet of Laden Colliers from *Newcaſtle*, twelve towards *Plymouth*, and fifteen up the River, which had ſuffered ſome Damage by Storm, and that he had left with him but thirty ſeven Ships of War, came into the *Downs* with fourſcore Men of War, and thirty of the ableſt Merchantmen of the Fleet he was appointed to convoy. Notwithſtanding which Inequality of Number it was unanimouſly reſolved in a Council of War to fight the Dutch Fleet. Accordingly a day or two after ours engaged them about Noon, and the Fight continued till Night ſeparated them. In this Fight we loſt two Ships, the *Garland* of 40, and the *Bonaventure* of 36 Guns; and tho in recompence we burnt one of their Admirals, and killed many of their Men, particularly two Secretaries who were on board their Admiral, yet the Dutch were exceedingly elevated with this little Succeſs; and being informed that the Engliſh Fleet was in great want of all ſorts of Naval Stores, they publiſhed a Placaet to prohibit the Exportation of them hither under ſevere Penalties. They alſo threatned to drive us out of the Iſlands which we poſſeſſed in *America*, and to that end ſent ſome Ships to join Prince *Rupert*, which with thoſe revolted Engliſh made up in all twenty five Sail. The King of *Denmark* likewiſe promiſed to aſſiſt them by the next Spring with thirty Ships of War for the Sum of one Million

lion of Guilders, which they agreed to pay to him.

In the mean time the Parliament having received Information of the Misbehaviour of ſome Officers in the late Engagement, appointed a Committee, whereof Sir *Henry Vane*, Mr. *John Carew*, and Major *Salloway*, were the principal, impowering them to place and diſplace Officers, and to regulate all Matters relating to the Sea, in ſuch a manner as might be moſt conducing to the Service of the State. Theſe Commiſſioners uſed ſuch Care and Diligence in the diſcharge of this Truſt, that the face of Affairs ſoon became much alter'd for the better; the Ships that were unſerviceable repaired, a conſiderable Fleet put to Sea well officer'd and well mann'd, the Store-houſes repleniſh'd with all manner of neceſſary Proviſions, and thirty Frigats preparing to be built. Lieutenant General *Monk* was alſo added to the Generals *Blake* and *Dean*, in the room of Col. *Edward Popham* lately deceaſed, to take care of the equipping and commanding the Fleet. And that nothing might be wanting on our part to preſerve a good Correſpondence with ſuch Foreign States as were in Amity with us, the Parliament ſent the Lord Commiſſioner *Whitlock* on an extraordinary Embaſſy to the Crown of *Sweden*, where he was received with all the Honours due to his Character.

The Commiſſioners for the Iriſh Affairs being at *Dublin*, Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*

came thither with his Family; after whose Arrival a Commission was issued out for the Trials of such as were accused of having murdered the English, which was directed to Persons of known Ability and Integrity in each Province. To those formerly accused was added the Lord *Muskerry*, who was charged to have put many English Men to death in the way between his House of *Mackroom* and the City of *Cork*. Upon this Accusation the said Lord was seized, and ordered to be prosecuted by the Court of Justice at *Dublin* for the same. The Commissioners also by Order of the Parliament published a Declaration to inform the Publick, and particularly the Adventurers, who had advanced Money upon the Irish Lands, that the War in *Ireland* was concluded. This they did as well that the said Adventurers might have what was justly due to them, as that the poor wasted Country of *Ireland* might have the Assistance of their own Purses and Labour, to recover the Stock and Growth of the Land; the Irish having all along eaten out the Heart and Vigour of the Ground, and of late much more than ever, being in daily Apprehensions of being removed.

All Arrears due to the English Army in *Ireland* were satisfied by the Parliament out of the Estates forfeited by the Rebels, which were delivered to them at the same Rates with the first Adventurers. In this Transaction those of the Army shewed great Partiality, by confining

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the Satisfaction of Arrears only to ſuch as were in Arms in *Auguſt* 1649. which was the time when the Engliſh Army commanded by Lieutenant General *Cromwel* arrived in *Ireland*; and tho the Hardſhips endured by thoſe who were in Arms before had been much greater, yet nothing could be obtained but ſuch a Proportion of Lands in the County of *Wicklo*, and elſewhere, as was not ſufficient to clear the fourth part of what was due to them. Thoſe who ſolicited the Affairs of the Army in *Ireland* with the Parliament, having perſwaded the Adventurers that there were Forfeited Lands enough in one Moiety of nine principal Counties, they accepted of them for their Satisfaction, and the other Moiety was aſſigned by the Act for the Satisfaction of the Souldiers; the reſt of *Ireland* was alſo diſpoſed of, only the Province of *Connaught* was reſerved for the Iriſh under the Qualifications agreed upon by the Parliament: According to which they were to be put into poſſeſſion of the ſeveral Proportions of Land which had been promiſed them in the ſaid Province; that ſo the Adventurers, Souldiers, and others to whom the Parliament ſhould aſſign their Lands, might plant without diſturbance, or danger of being corrupted by intermixing with the Natives in Marriages or otherwiſe, which by the Experience of former times the Engliſh had been found to be, rather than to have bettered the Iriſh either in Religion or good Manners: and that the Natives being divided

vided by the River *Shannon* from the other Provinces, and having Garisons placed round and amongst them in the most proper and convenient Stations, they might not have those Opportunities to prejudice the English as formerly they had. An Act being drawn up to this purpose, the Parliament passed it, reserving the Counties of *Dublin*, *Kildare*, *Carlo* and *Cork*, (together with the remaining part of the Lands formerly belonging to the Bishops, Deans and Chapters of *Ireland*, whereof some had been already applied, to augment the Revenues of the College of *Dublin*) to be disposed of as the Parliament should think fit.

The Forfeited Lands were divided between the Adventurers and Souldiers by Lot, according to an Estimate taken of the Number of Acres in the respective Counties, in conformity to an Order from the Commissioners of Parliament; by whom were appointed Sub-Commissioners to judg of the Qualifications of each Person, and others, who upon Certificate from the Sub-Commissioners for determining Qualifications, were required to set out so much Land in the Province of *Connaught* as belonged to every one by virtue of the said Act. They also established a Committee to sit at *Dublin* to receive and adjudg all Claims of English and others to any Lands, limiting a time within which they were obliged to bring in and make appear their respective Claims to be Legal; to the end that the Adventurers, Souldiers, and others,

others, might be at a Certainty, and after such a time free from any Moleſtation in the poſſeſſion of their Lands; and that none through Ignorance or Abſence might be ſurprized, they prorogued the ſaid time twice or thrice to a longer day.

The Courts of Juſtice erected at *Dublin* and in other Parts, proceeded vigorouſly in making Inquiſition after the Murders that had been committed: *Maccarty Reagh*, after much ſearch into the Matter whereof he ſtood accuſed, was acquitted by the Court ſitting at *Cork*; and ſo was the Lord *Clanmaliere* by that of *Kilkenny*; but the Mother of Col. *Fitz-Patrick* was found guilty of the Murder of the Engliſh, with this Aggravation, that ſhe ſaid ſhe would make Candles of their Fat. She was condemned to be burnt, and the Sentence was executed accordingly. Col. *Lewis Moor* and *Lewis Demley* were alſo found guilty of Murder, for which they were hanged. Sir *Charles Coote*, with the reſt of the Court of Juſtice in the Province of *Connaught*, proceeded againſt the Lord *Mayo*, and declared him guilty of the ſame Crime, for which he was executed according to the Sentence pronounced againſt him.

The Trial of the Lord *Muskerry* was long, by reaſon of a Clauſe which he urged in his Defence from a printed Copy of the Articles made with him; which tho it had been unjuſt for me to grant in the Terms there mentioned, yet would have cleared him, and thrown the

Blame

Blame and Guilt upon me; for Articles given ought to be made good. But this Clauſe upon ſearch into the Original, which I kept, appeared to have been inſerted by themſelves in the Print which they produced for Evidence, under pretence of having loſt the Original Articles ſigned by me. Notwithſtanding which, it appearing that tho divers of the Engliſh were murdered by the Convoy appointed to conduct them ſafe to *Cork*, the Lord *Muskerry* had taken what care he could for their Security, and had done what in him lay to bring the Perſon who was guilty of that Blood to Juſtice, the Court acquitted him, and he was permitted according to his Articles to paſs into *Spain*. I have heard that upon his Arrival in that Kingdom a Faction appeared againſt him, upon account of his former Oppoſition to the Pope's Nuntio in *Ireland*; ſo that he finding but cold Entertainment there, entred into a Treaty to put himſelf and his Men into the Service of the Venetians.

Luke Took, the Head of a Sept in the County of *Wicklo*, being conſcious of his Guilt, had formerly deſired my Paſs to come and treat with me about Conditions for laying down the Arms of himſelf and Party; and to induce me to give him more favourable Terms, ſaid, he had a Horſe and Saddle worth a hundred Pounds, which he deſired I would accept of. I refuſing his Preſent, he took it as an ill Omen to him; for they are ſo accuſtomed to bribe their Magiſtrates in that Country, that if any one

one refuſe their Preſents, they preſently conclude him to be their Enemy, and give their Cauſe for loſt; and therefore he ſubmitted not at that time. But now ſuppoſing he could by no means avoid falling into our hands, by reaſon of the Number of our Gariſons placed in all Parts amongſt them, who by this time were as well acquainted with their Retreats and Faſtneſſes as themſelves, and it may be thinking there would not appear ſufficient Evidence to prove him guilty, he ſubmitted upon the ſame Condition I had formerly offered to him, which was, *That he ſhould be liable to be queſtioned for Murder*, whereof being accuſed before the Court at *Dublin*, he was convicted, ſentenced, and executed.

Sir *Phelim O Neal*, Head alſo of a Sept, and one who had as great a ſhare as any in the contriving and carrying on the Maſſacre and Rebellion, fell into the Hands of the Lord *Cawfield*, whoſe Brother he had cauſed to be murdered at the beginning of the Rebellion in this manner. *O Neal* being a Neighbour of the Lord *Cawfield*, came to him under the pretence of Friendſhip, with about half a dozen Friends, to his Caſtle of *Charlemont*, where being received, he and thoſe that were with him were carried to drink in the Cellar by the Lord *Cawfield*, (both of them being too much addicted to that which the World calls good Fellowſhip) After ſome time Sir *Phelim O Neal* fires a Piſtol, which was a Signal agreed on, and immediately

ly thirty Iriſh entred and ſurprized the Caſtle, taking the Lord, his Mother, Lady, and Children, with the reſt of the Family Priſoners; and after three or four days murdered the Lord *Cawfield*, the reſt hardly eſcaping with their Lives. But now the Commiſſioners of Parliament having by their preſcribed Lines, within which all were obliged to inhabit, withdrawn Proviſions from the Enemy, who could not be ſupplied without hazard of their Lives, thought fit as a further means to reduce them, to ſet a Sum of Money upon the Heads of the Principal of thoſe who yet perſiſted in their Rebellion, upon ſome twenty, others forty, and upon Sir *Phelim O Neal* a hundred Pounds, to bring him dead or alive. This was ſuch an Incouragement to look after him, that one of the Country People having notice that he was in an Iſland in the North, gave Intelligence thereof to the Lord *Cawfield*, who having brought together a Party of Horſe and Foot, entred the Iſland in Boats, and ſeized him there. From thence he carried him to *Dublin*, where divers of his Cruelties to the Engliſh being proved againſt him, he was ſentenced by the Court of Juſtice to be put to death, and his Head to be ſet upon the Gate that ſtands at the Foot of the Bridg, which was put in execution accordingly.

Thus the Enemy by the Bleſſing of God upon the Counſels of the Parliament, and Endeavours of their Armies, was every where diſperſed and conquered, and the Nation likely to attain

attain in a ſhort time that meaſure of Happineſs which humane things are capable of, when by the Ambition of one Man the Hopes and Expectations of all good Men were diſappointed, and the People robbed of that Liberty which they had contended for at the Expence of ſo much Blood and Treaſure.

General *Cromwel* had long been ſuſpected by wiſe and good Men; but he had taken ſuch Care to form and mould the Army to his Humour and Intereſts, that he had filled all Places either with his own Creatures, or with ſuch as hoped to ſhare with him in the Sovereignty, and removed thoſe who foreſeeing his Deſign, had either the Courage or Honeſty to oppoſe him in it. His pernicious Intentions did not diſcover themſelves openly till after the Battel at *Worceſter*, which in one of his Letters to the Parliament he called *The Crowning Victory*. At the ſame time when he diſmiſſed the Militia, who had moſt readily offered themſelves to ſerve the Commonwealth againſt the Scots, he did it with Anger and Contempt, which was all the Acknowledgment they could obtain from him for their Service and Affection to the Publick Cauſe. In a word, ſo much was he elevated with that Succeſs, that Mr. *Hugh Peters*, as he ſince told me, took ſo much notice of it, as to ſay in confidence to a Friend upon the Road in his Return from *Worceſter*, *That* Cromwel *would make himſelf King*. He now began to deſpiſe divers Members of the Houſe whom

he had formerly courted, and grew moſt familiar with thoſe whom he uſed to ſhew moſt Averſion to; endeavouring to oblige the Royal Party, by procuring for them more favourable Conditions than conſiſted with the Juſtice of the Parliament to grant, under colour of quieting the Spirits of many People, and keeping them from engaging in new Diſturbances to reſcue themſelves out of thoſe Fears, which many who had acted for the King yet lay under; tho at the ſame time he deſigned nothing, as by the Succeſs was moſt manifeſt, but to advance himſelf by all manner of means, and to betray the great Truſt which the Parliament and good People of *England* had repoſed in him. To this end he preſſed the Act of Oblivion with ſo much Importunity, that tho ſome Members earneſtly oppoſed its bearing date till after ſome Months, as well in Juſtice to thoſe of that Party who had already fined for their Delinquency, that others as guilty as themſelves might be upon an equal foot with them, as that the State might by that means be ſupplied with Money, which they wanted, and that ſuch who had been plundered by the Enemy might receive ſome Satisfaction from thoſe who had ruined them, yet nothing could prevail upon the General; and ſo the Act was paſſed: The Parliament being unwilling to deny him any thing for which there was the leaſt colour of Reaſon.

But tho he had gained this Point, and eagerly coveted his own Advancement, he thought

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it not convenient yet to unmask himſelf; but rather to make higher Pretences to Honeſty than ever he had done before, thereby to engage Major General *Harriſon*, Col. *Rich*, and their Party, to himſelf. To this end he took all occaſions in their Preſence to aſperſe the Parliament, as not deſigning to do thoſe good things they pretended to; but rather intending to ſupport the corrupt Intereſts of the Clergy and Lawyers. And tho he was convinced that they were haſtning with all Expedition to put a Period to their ſitting, having paſſed a Vote that they would do it within the ſpace of a Year, and that they were making all poſſible Preparations in order to it; yet did he induſtriouſly publiſh, that they were ſo in love with their Seats, that they would uſe all means to perpetuate themſelves. Theſe and other Calumnies he had with ſo much Art inſinuated into the Belief of many honeſt and well-meaning People, that they began to wiſh him Proſperity in his Undertaking. Divers of the Clergy from their Pulpits began to propheſy the Deſtruction of the Parliament, and to propoſe it openly as a thing deſirable. Inſomuch that the General, who had all along concurred with this Spirit in them, hypocritically complained to Quarter-maſter General *Vernon*, *That he was puſhed on by two Parties to do that, the conſideration of the Iſſue whereof made his Hair to ſtand an end.* One of theſe, ſaid he, is headed by Major General *Lambert*, who in revenge of that Injury the

Parliament did him, in not permitting him to go into *Ireland* with a Character and Conditions ſutable to his Merit, will be contented with nothing leſs than their Diſſolution: Of the other Major General *Harriſon* is the Chief, who is an honeſt Man, and aims at good things, yet from the Impatience of his Spirit will not wait the Lord's leiſure, but hurries me on to that which he and all honeſt Men will have cauſe to repent. Thus did he craftily feel the Pulſe of Men towards this Work, endeavouring to caſt the Infamy of it on others, reſerving to himſelf the appearance of Tenderneſs to Civil and Religious Liberty, and of skreening the Nation from the Fury of the Parties before-mentioned.

This Mine of his was not wrought with ſo much Privacy but it was obſerved by ſome diſcerning Men of the Parliament, eſpecially by thoſe who had the Direction and Management of the War with *Holland*. Theſe Men endeavoured to countermine him two ways: Firſt by balancing his Intereſt in the Army with that of the Fleet, procuring an Order from the Parliament, whoſe Ear they had upon all occaſions, by reaſon of the Importance of the War with the Dutch, to ſend ſome Regiments of the Army to ſtrengthen the Fleet; and ſecondly by recommending, as an eaſy way to raiſe Money in that Exigency, the Sale of *Hampton-Court*, and other Places, that were eſteemed as Baits to tempt ſome ambitious

Man to aſcend the Throne. The Parliament having ordered theſe things to be done, the General, ſenſible of the Deſign, and of the Conſequences of ſuffering the Army to be new-moulded, and put under another Conduct, made haſte to execute his former Reſolutions, railing to Col. *Okey* and other Officers of the Army againſt divers Members of the Parliament, affirming that little Good could be expected from that Body where ſuch Men had ſo great an Influence. At the ſame time he made the moſt ſolemn Profeſſions of Fidelity to the Parliament, aſſuring them, that if they would command the Army to break their Swords over their Heads, and to throw them into the Sea, he would undertake they ſhould do it. Yet did he privately engage the Officers of the Army to draw up a Petition to the Parliament, That for the Satisfaction of the Nation they would put that Vote which they had made for fixing a Period to their ſitting, into an Act; which whilſt the Officers were forming and debating, the General having, it ſeems, for that time altered his Counſels, ſent Col. *Desborough*, one of his Inſtruments, to the Council of Officers, who told them, that they were a ſort of Men whom nothing could ſatisfy; That the Parliament were more ready to do any Good than they to deſire it; That they ought to rely upon their Word and Promiſe to diſſolve themſelves by the time prefixed; and that to petition them to put their Vote into an Act, would ma-

nifeſt a Diffidence of them, and leſſen their Authority, which was ſo neceſſary to the Army. The General coming into the Council whilſt *Desborough* was ſpeaking, ſeconded him; to which ſome of the Officers took the Liberty to reply, that they had the ſame Opinion of the Parliament and Petition with them, and that the chief Argument that moved them to take this Matter into conſideration, was the Intimation they had received, that it was according to the Deſires of thoſe who had now ſpoken againſt it, and whoſe latter Motion they were much more ready to comply with than their former. Thus was this Buſineſs ſtifled for the preſent, none being ſo well able to lay the evil Spirit as thoſe that had raiſed it. But either the General's Ambition was ſo great, that he could not forbear aſcending the Throne till the time limited by the Parliament for their ſitting was expired, or his Fears haſtned him to the Accompliſhment of his Deſign, leſt the diſintereſted Proceeding of the Parliament, who were about to leave the Nation under a Form of Government that provided ſufficiently for the Good of the Community, might work the People into a greater Averſion to his ſelfiſh Deſign. Certain it is that he vehemently deſired to be rid of this Parliament that had performed ſuch great things, having ſubdued their Enemies in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; eſtabliſhed the Liberty of the People, reduced the Kingdom of *Portugal* to ſuch Terms as they

 thought

thought fit to grant; maintained a War againſt the Dutch with that Conduct and Succeſs, that it ſeemed now drawing to a happy Concluſion; recovered our Reputation at Sea, ſecured our Trade, and provided a powerful Fleet for the Service of the Nation. And however the Malice of their Enemies may endeavour to deprive them of the Glory which they juſtly merited, yet it will appear to unprejudiced Poſterity, that they were a diſintereſted and impartial Parliament, who tho they had the Sovereign Power of the three Nations in their hands for the ſpace of ten or twelve Years, did not in all that time give away amongſt themſelves ſo much as their Forces ſpent in three Months; no, not ſo much as they ſpent in one, from the time that the Parliament conſiſted but of one Houſe, and the Government was formed into a Commonwealth. To which ought to be added, that after ſo many Toils and Hazards, ſo much Trouble and Loſs for the Publick Good, they were not unwilling to put an end to their Power, and to content themſelves with an equal ſhare with others, for the whole Reward of their Labours. Of this *Cromwel* was very ſenſible, as well as of their great Skill and Experience in the Management of Publick Affairs, and of the good Eſteem they had acquired amongſt the moſt diſcerning part of the Nation, and therefore was very deſirous to lay them aſide with as little Noiſe as might be. To this end, after he had reſolved not to ſuffer the

Act for their Diſſolution to be finiſhed, he would needs perſwade them to be the Inſtruments of their own Deſtruction, by putting a Period to themſelves, and at the ſame time inveſting a certain Number with the Supreme Authority, not doubting when they had ſo done, to find Pretences enough to diſperſe any ſuch, well knowing that when the face of Civil Authority was once taken away, the Power would naturally fall into the hands of that Perſon who had the greateſt Intereſt in the Army, which he ſuppoſed to be himſelf. This made him join with Major General *Harriſon*, being confident that when he had uſed him and his Party to diſſolve the preſent Government, he could cruſh both him and them at his pleaſure. And tho it was no difficult matter to diſcover this, yet thoſe poor, deluded, however well-meaning Men, would not believe it. But all were not ſo blind, for divers Members of the Parliament whom he endeavoured to cajole into a good Opinion of his Deſign, being very ſenſible of the great Miſchiefs that muſt neceſſarily enſue from ſuch Courſes, reſolved either to diſſwade him from them, or endeavour to countermine him therein. To this end they had ſeveral Meetings with *Cromwel*, at one of which, when he and his Party laboured to ſhew that it was impoſſible for the Parliament, conſiſting, as they ſaid, for the moſt part of Men intereſted in the Corruptions of the Law and the Clergy, to effect thoſe things that good Men expected

pected from them, Major *Saloway* desired of them, that before they took away the present Authority, they would declare what they would have established in its room; to which it was replied by one of the General's Party, That it was necessary to pull down this Government, and it would be time enough then to consider what should be placed in the room of it. So both Parties understanding one another, prepared to secure themselves.

The Parliament now perceiving to what kind of Excesses the Madness of the Army was like to carry them, resolved to leave as a Legacy to the People the Government of a Commonwealth by their Representatives, when assembled in Parliament, and in the Intervals thereof by a Council of State, chosen by them, and to continue till the Meeting of the next succeeding Parliament, to whom they were to give an account of their Conduct and Management. To this end they resolved, without any further Delay, to pass the Act for their own Dissolution; of which *Cromwel* having notice, makes haste to the House, where he sat down and heard the Debate for some time. Then calling to Major General *Harrison*, who was on the other side of the House, to come to him, he told him, *That he judged the Parliament ripe for a Dissolution*, and this to be the time of doing it. The Major General answered, as he since told me; Sir, the Work is very great and dangerous, therefore I desire you seriously to consider

of it before you engage in it. You say well, replied the General, and thereupon sat still for about a quarter of an hour; and then the Question for passing the Bill being to be put, he said again to Major General *Harrison*, *This is the time I must do it*; and suddenly standing up, made a Speech, wherein he loaded the Parliament with the vilest Reproaches, charging them not to have a Heart to do any thing for the Publick Good, to have espoused the corrupt Interest of Presbytery and the Lawyers, who were the Supporters of Tyranny and Oppression, accusing them of an Intention to perpetuate themselves in Power, had they not been forced to the passing of this Act, which he affirmed they designed never to observe, and thereupon told them, that the Lord had done with them, and had chosen other Instruments for the carrying on his Work that were more worthy. This he spoke with so much Passion and Discomposure of Mind, as if he had been distracted. Sir *Peter Wentworth* stood up to answer him, and said, That this was the first time that ever he had heard such unbecoming Language given to the Parliament, and that it was the more horrid in that it came from their Servant, and their Servant whom they had so highly trusted and obliged: but as he was going on, the General stept into the midst of the House, where continuing his distracted Language, he said, Come, come, I will put an end to your prating; then walking up and down

the

the Houſe like a Mad-man, and kicking the Ground with his Feet, he cried out, You are no Parliament, I ſay you are no Parliament; I will put an end to your Sitting; call them in, call them in: Whereupon the Serjeant attending the Parliament opened the Doors, and Lieutenant Colonel *Worſley* with two Files of Muſqueteers entred the Houſe; which Sir *Henry Vane* obſerving from his Place, ſaid aloud, This is not honeſt, yea it is againſt Morality and common Honeſty. Then *Cromwel* fell a railing at him, crying out with a loud Voice, O Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *Henry Vane*, the Lord deliver me from Sir *Henry Vane*. Then looking upon one of the Members, he ſaid, There ſits a Drunkard; and giving much reviling Language to others, he commanded the Mace to be taken away, ſaying, *What ſhall we do with this Bauble? here, take it away.* Having brought all into this Diſorder, Major General *Harriſon* went to the Speaker as he ſat in the Chair, and told him, That ſeeing things were reduced to this paſs, it would not be convenient for him to remain there. The Speaker anſwered, That he would not come down unleſs he were forced. Sir, ſaid *Harriſon*, I will lend you my Hand; and thereupon putting his Hand within his, the Speaker came down. Then *Cromwel* applied himſelf to the Members of the Houſe, who were in Number between 80 and 100, and ſaid to them, *It's you that have forced me to this, for I have ſought the Lord Night and Day, that he*

he would rather ſlay me than put me upon the doing of this Work. Hereupon Alderman *Allen*, a Member of Parliament, told him, that it was not yet gone ſo far, but all things might be reſtored again; and that if the Souldiers were commanded out of the Houſe, and the Mace returned, the Publick Affairs might go on in their former Courſe: but *Cromwel* having now paſſed the *Rubicon*, not only rejected his Advice, but charged him with an Account of ſome hundred thouſand Pounds, for which he threatned to queſtion him, he having been long Treaſurer for the Army, and in a Rage committed him to the Cuſtody of one of the Muſqueteers. Alderman *Allen* told him, That it was well known that it had not been his Fault that his Account was not made up long ſince; that he had often tendred it to the Houſe, and that he asked no Favour from any Man in that matter. *Cromwel* having acted this treacherous and impious part, ordered the Guard to ſee the Houſe clear'd of all the Members, and then ſeized upon the Records that were there, and at Mr. *Scobell*'s Houſe. After which he went to the Clerk, and ſnatching the Act of Diſſolution, which was ready to paſs, out of his Hand, he put it under his Cloak, and having commanded the Doors to be locked up, went away to *Whitehall*.

This villanous Attempt was much encouraged by *Neiuport* and the other Ambaſſadors lately arrived from *Holland*, with Inſtructions

to

to conclude a Peace; who finding the Parliament ſupported by the Affections of the People, becauſe acting for their Intereſt, and therefore not to be forced, much leſs cheated into an unjuſt and diſadvantageous Agreement, inſtigated *Cromwel* to take the Power into his hands, well underſtanding that he would ſoon be neceſſitated to make Peace with them upon what Terms they ſhould think fit; in the mean time reſolving to interrupt our Trade, and to put the Nation to a great Expence to maintain a Fleet for the Guard of the Seas, which they knew the People would be unwilling to keep when they ſhould perceive that it ſerved only to uphold and ſtrengthen a Tyranny. They alſo had made Preparations to ſend over Money, Arms and Men, with Lieut. Gen. *Middleton*, to enable the Mountaniers of *Scotland* to give Diſturbance to the Engliſh Intereſt there.

Cromwel being returned to *Whitehall*, found the Council of War in Debate concerning this weighty Affair, and informed them, that he had done it, and that they needed not to trouble themſelves any further about it. Some of the Officers of the Army well affected to the Publick Cauſe, and not of his Juncto, of whom were Col. *Okey* and others, repaired to the General, to deſire Satisfaction in that Proceeding, conceiving that the way they were now going tended to Ruin and Confuſion. To theſe, having not yet taken off his Maſk, but pretending to more Honeſty and Self-denial than

than ever, he profeſſed himſelf reſolved to do much more Good, and with more Expedition than could be expected from the Parliament: which Profeſſions from him put moſt of them to ſilence, and moved them to a Reſolution of waiting for a further Diſcovery of his Deſign, before they would proceed to a Breach and Diviſion from him. But Col. *Okey* being jealous that the End would be bad, becauſe the Means were ſuch as made them juſtly ſuſpected of Hypocriſy, enquired of Col. *Desborough* what his meaning was to give ſuch high Commendations to the Parliament when he endeavoured to diſſwade the Officers of the Army from petitioning them for a Diſſolution, and ſo ſhort a time after to eject them with ſo much Scorn and Contempt; who had no other Anſwer to make, but that if ever he drolled in his Life, he had drolled then.

We who were in *Ireland* being not ſo well informed of theſe Clandeſtine Practices, and no leſs confident that the Principles of ſome Men who joined in this Attempt were directed to the Good of the Nation; and that tho ſome might be ſuch arrant Knaves as to have other Deſigns, yet truſting that an Impoſſibility of accompliſhing the ſame would oblige them to fall in with the publick Intereſt, and not to be ſo very fooliſh to attempt the ſetting up for themſelves, tho we could not but have ſome Doubts of the ill Conſequences of theſe things, yet thought our ſelves by the Rules of Charity obliged to hope

hope the beſt, and therefore continued to act in our Places and Stations as before.

Cromwel having interrupted the Parliament in the Morning of the 20*th* of *April*, 1653. came in the Afternoon to the Council of State, (who were aſſembled to do their Duty at the uſual place) accompanied with Major General *Lambert* and Col. *Harriſon*, and told them at his Entrance; *Gentlemen, If you are met here as private Perſons, you ſhall not be diſturbed; but if as a Council of State, this is no place for you; and ſince you can't but know what was done at the Houſe in the Morning, ſo take notice, that the Parliament is diſſolved.* To this Serjeant *Bradſhaw* anſwered; *Sir, we have heard what you did at the Houſe in the Morning, and before many hours all* England *will hear it: but, Sir, you are miſtaken to think that the Parliament is diſſolved; for no Power under Heaven can diſſolve them but themſelves; therefore take you notice of that.* Something more was ſaid to the ſame purpoſe by Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, Mr. *Love*, and Mr. *Scot*; and then the Council of State perceiving themſelves to be under the ſame Violence, departed.

Soon after *Cromwell* had thus barbarouſly treated the Parliament, and effaced the Civil Authority, he ſent for Major *Saloway* and Mr. *John Carew*, to whom he complained of *the great Weight of Affairs that by this Undertaking was fallen upon him; affirming, that the Thoughts of the Conſequences thereof made him to tremble,*

and

and therefore desired them to free him from the Temptations that might be laid before him; and to that end to go immediately to the Chief Justice St. Johns, *Mr.* Selden, *and some others, and endeavour to perswade them to draw up some Instrument of Government that might put the Power out of his hands.* To this it was answered by Major *Saloway*; *The way, Sir, to free you from this Temptation is for you not to look upon your self to be under it, but to rest perswaded that the Power of the Nation is in the good People of* England, *as formerly it was.* *Cromwel* perceiving by this Answer that he was better understood than he could have wished, fell upon another Expedient before he would openly discover himself, appointing a Meeting of the Chief Officers of the Army to be at *Whitehall*, in order to consider what was fit to be done in this Exigency.

Major Gen. *Lambert*, Col. *Harrison*, and divers other Officers, were at this Assembly, where Major *Saloway*, tho he had then no Command, was desired to be present. Major General *Lambert* moved that a few Persons, not exceeding the Number of 10 or 12, might be intrusted with the Supreme Power: Major Gen. *Harrison* was for a greater Number, inclining most to that of 70, being the Number of which the Jewish Sanhedrim consisted; but after some Debate it was resolved that out of each County and City in *England*, *Ireland*, and *Scotland*, a certain Number of Persons, as near as might be proportionable to their Payments toward

toward the Publick Charge, ſhould be nominated by the Council of Officers to be ſent for to meet at *Weſtminſter*, on a certain day, where all the Authority of the Nation ſhould be delivered into their hands by an Inſtrument ſigned and ſealed by the General and the Officers, obliging themſelves to yield Obedience to their Orders. The Gentlemen who were ſummoned met at the Time and Place appointed, where after they had heard the General's Harangue, in which he ſeemed to acknowledg the Goodneſs of the Lord in that he ſaw that Day wherein the Saints began their Rule in the Earth, *&c.* they went into the Houſe wherein the Parliament uſed to ſit, where they voted themſelves to be the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. Many of the Members of this Aſſembly had manifeſted a good Affection to the Publick Cauſe; but ſome there were among them who were brought in as Spies and Trapanners; and tho they had been always of the contrary Party, made the higheſt Pretenſions to Honeſty, and the Service of the Nation. This Aſſembly therefore being compoſed for the moſt part of honeſt and well-meaning Perſons, (who having good Intentions, were leſs ready to ſuſpect the evil Deſigns of others) thought themſelves in full Poſſeſſion of the Power and Authority of the Nation, and therefore proceeded to the making of Laws relating to the Publick; amongſt others one concerning the Plantation of *Ireland*, ſettling the

the Lands there upon the Adventurers and Souldiers, together with an Act for Mariners; one for Payment of ſome Publick Debts, with divers others. They alſo made ſome Progreſs in the Reformation of the Law, having appointed a Committee to that end.

In *Ireland* we disbanded ſome of our Forces to the Number of about 5000 Horſe and Foot, and ſummoned a Council of Officers to adjuſt the Arrears of the Souldiers, and to put them into poſſeſſion of the Land aſſigned for their Satisfaction; who judging that it would not hold out to ſatisfy the whole, rated the beſt Land of each County according to its intrinſick Value, reſerving the worſt to be equally diſtributed amongſt them, when the Arrears ſhould appear to be ſatisfied on the foot of the new Valuation. The County of *Dublin* was in this Eſtimate rated at 1500 *l.* for 1000 Acres; the County of *Wexford* at 800 *l.* the County of *Kilkenny* at 1000 *l.* All which Counties being within the Province of *Lempſter*, were rated by the Act at 600 *l.* for 1000 Acres. Inſtructions were alſo given to the Committee for ſtating the Accounts of the Arrears of the Souldiers, by which thoſe who were disbanded in *Connaught* had their Arrears aſſigned in Lands about *Slego*, thoſe in *Munſter* in the County of *Cork*, &c. Thoſe who had been for ſome time with the Lord *Inchequin*, and therefore thought fit to be disbanded, had their Arrears aſſigned (upon my Deſire) together, about *Collen*, in the

the County of *Kilkenny*, that they might be the better able to defend themſelves, and aſſiſt their Friends upon occaſion. Col. *Theophilus Jones*'s Regiment was reduced, his own Troop and ſome others appointed to compleat mine, and Col. *Jones* to be Major of my Regiment in the room of Col. *Warden*, who was disbanded.

The Pay of ſome of the Officers of the Army was alſo reduced, but yet they now received the Pay of ſeven days *per* Week, whereas before they had but four; but the General Officers who had been paid ſeven days for a Week, had ſome ten Shillings, others five Shillings *per* day abated of their Pay; amongſt whom it fell heavier on me than any other, for as my Work was double both as a Commiſſioner of Parliament, and Lieutenant General of the Horſe, ſo were my Expences alſo, being oblig'd to keep a more plentiful Table than any other of the Commiſſioners, and more than twenty Horſes continually in my Stable ready for Service: but indeed could I have ſeen our Victories employed to the Good of the Commonwealth, I ſhould have been ſatisfied without any other Encouragement: and I can clearly make it appear, that during the four Years I ſerved in *Ireland*, I expended 4500 *l.* of my own Eſtate more than all the Pay that I received.

The Commiſſioners for the Management of Affairs by Sea having not finiſhed the Time li-

mited by the Parliament for their acting, nor clearly seeing to what Extremities things would be driven, continued to act in their Station; which they did with that Diligence and Vigour, that since the late Engagement in the *Downs* they had equipped a very considerable Fleet, and furnished it with all sorts of Provisions, Ammunition and Men. This Fleet was commanded by *Dean* and *Monk* as Admirals, by *Penn* as Vice-Admiral, and by *Lawson* as Reer-Admiral. On the 2*d* of *June*, 1653. early in the Morning they attacked the Dutch Fleet commanded by *Van Tromp*, *Evertson*, *De Witt* and *De Ruyter*, on the Coast of *Flanders*. *Lawson* who commanded the Blew Squadron charged through the Dutch Fleet with forty Ships, which Storm falling principally on *De Ruyter*'s Squadron, *Van Tromp* bore up to his Assistance; which when our Admirals, who were both on the same Ship, perceived, they engaged *Tromp* with the Body of the Fleet, and the Fight continued till three in the Afternoon, at which time the Wind coming up contrary to the English, the Dutch fled, and were pursued by the lightest of our Frigats. The next Morning the two Fleets found themselves again near each other, but for want of Wind could not come to engage till about Noon, at which time the Dispute began, and continued very hot on both sides till ten at Night. Our Fleet charged the Dutch with so much Resolution, and put them into so great Disorder, that

tho their Admiral fired on them to rally them, he could not procure more than twenty Ships of his whole Fleet to ſtand by him, the reſt making all the ſail they could away to the Eaſtward. But the Wind blowing a freſh Gale from the Weſtward, ours purſued them ſo effectually, that they ſunk ſix of their beſt Ships, and blew up two others that were in the body of their Fleet, taking eleven of their biggeſt Ships, and two others, with thirteen hundred Priſoners, among whom were ſix of their principal Captains; and had not the reſt of their Fleet ſheltered themſelves between *Dunkirk* and *Calais*, where it was unſafe to expoſe our great Ships by reaſon of the Sands, we had probably taken or deſtoyed moſt of the reſt. The Hollanders were much ſuperiour to the Engliſh in Number of Ships; but ſuch was the Courage and Conduct of our Men, that we loſt but one Ship in the Fight, had but one Captain killed, except Admiral *Dean*, which indeed was a great Loſs, and about one hundred and ſixty private Men killed and wounded. Our Fleet having put their Priſoners on ſhoar, and left ſome of their Ships to be refitted, returned to the Coaſt of *Holland*, where they took many Prizes. The People in *Holland* ſeeing themſelves as it were beſieged by the Engliſh Fleet, conſtrained the Magiſtrates by their Clamours to ſend their Fleet again to Sea, which they reinforced with divers great Ships, and ſome Fireſhips, ſo that they made up in all

one hundred and forty Sail. The Engliſh Fleet were little more in Number than ninety, yet reſolved to fight the Enemy; and accordingly detaching the lighteſt of their Frigats, aſſiſted by ſome greater Ships, they engaged the Dutch, and maintained the Fight till they were ſeparated by the Night. The next day little was done, but on the day after they fought again; and tho many of our Men were ſick of the Scurvy, and that the Dutch had Fireſhips, of which we had none, the Wind alſo entirely favouring them, yet did the Fight continue in equal balance till two or three in the Afternoon, about which time their Admiral *Van Tromp* was killed with a Musket-ball, as he walked upon the Deck with his Sword drawn. This ſo diſcouraged the Enemy, that they made all the haſte they could away towards the *Texel*, and were purſued with that Diligence by ours, that the Ship of *Cornelius Evertzen* was ſunk, with about thirty more, as we were informed by the Priſoners taken or ſaved from periſhing. The Victory was great, but coſt us dear, for we loſt eight of our brave Captains, whoſe Names were, *Graves*, *Peacock*, *Taylor*, *Criſp*, *Newman*, *Cox*, *Owen* and *Chapman*, with about four hundred Men. We had alſo about ſeven hundred wounded, and amongſt them five Commanders, yet we loſt but one Ship in this Fight. Our Admiral having put his Priſoners with the wounded Men on ſhoar, and taken in Proviſions, returned with the Fleet to the Coaſt

of *Holland*, where many of the Officers of the Enemies Fleet and others ingenuously acknowledged that the Hand of God was against them, and that they ought not to contend any longer with us.

The English Fleet being now absolute Masters of the Sea, no Ship could stir out of the *Texel* without their Permission. The Dutch were willing to impute their ill Success to the Treachery and Cowardice of their Officers; but so it was, by the Blessing of God upon the Endeavours of the Parliament and their Fleet, that since the beginning of the War we had taken, sunk and destroyed, between fourteen and fifteen hundred of their Ships, of which many were considerable Men of War. Their Seamen generally declined the Service, neither had they a sufficient Number of Ships to put to Sea, tho they had been furnished with all other Accommodations. In short, Matters were brought to that pass, that *Myn Heer Nieuport*, one of the Ambassadors from *Holland*, demanded of some of the Parliament-Party what they intended to do with them, endeavouring by all means possible to perswade them that the Ruin of the Dutch would be prejudicial to themselves. Our Friends plainly told him, that they desired nothing but a *Coalescence* with them, and then would be as ready to promote the Good of *Holland* as their own. To this the Ambassador replied, that he would engage his Masters should send us a *Blank*, and that what

Conditions ſoever we ſhould think fit to write on it, they would ſubſcribe. Soon after they ſent Ambaſſadors to treat in good earneſt concerning a Peace, which they were the more neceſſitated to do, by reaſon of ſome Diviſions amongſt themſelves on account of the Prince of *Orange*'s Intereſt. But this Attempt proved ineffectual, and they not able to prevail as long as the face of Authority remained in *England*, without conſenting to the *Coaleſcence*. For many of the preſent Aſſembly acting with Sincerity for the Publick, and therefore little ſuſpecting the Treachery of others, reſolved whilſt they had opportunity to be doing their Duty, and to diſcharge the Truſt committed to their care, according to the beſt of their Judgment, for the Good of the Commonwealth. They iſſued forth Orders for regulating the Exciſe and Cuſtoms, and enlarged the Powers of the Committee eſtabliſhed for Trade. They made all neceſſary Preparations for carrying on the War by Sea, and declared General *Robert Blake*, General *George Monk*, Major General *Desborough*, and Vice-Admiral *Penn*, to be the four Generals of the Fleet of the Commonwealth, impowering them with ſome others to manage the Affairs of the Admiralty for ſix Months. They alſo gave Order to prepare an Act to erect a High Court of Juſtice for proceeding againſt ſuch as ſhould ſurprize or betray any of the Fortreſſes, Magazines, or Ships of the Commonwealth into the

the hands of the Enemy; and alſo againſt thoſe who ſhould, contrary to the Laws already made, proclaim any to be King of *England* or *Ireland*, whereby it is manifeſt they ſuſpected the Deſign on foot, tho their Jealouſy did not at all defer, but rather haſten the execution of it.

The perfidious *Cromwel* having forgot his moſt ſolemn Profeſſions and former Vows, as well as the Blood and Treaſure that had been ſpent in this Conteſt, thought it high time to take off the Maſque, and reſolved to ſacrifice all our Victories and Deliverances to his Pride and Ambition, under colour of taking upon him the Office as it were of a High Conſtable, in order to keep the Peace of the Nation, and to reſtrain Men from cutting one anothers Throats. One Difficulty yet remained to obſtruct his Deſign, and that was the Convention, which he had aſſembled and inveſted with Power, as well as earneſtly ſolicited to reform the Law, and reduce the Clergy to a more Evangelical Conſtitution. And having ſufficiently alarmed thoſe Intereſts, and ſhewn them their Danger from the Convention, he informs them farther, that they cannot be ignorant of the Confuſion that all things are brought into by the immoderate Zeal of thoſe in Authority, and to what Extremities Matters might be reduced, if permitted to go on; poſſibly, ſaid he, to the utter Extirpation of Law and Goſpel from amongſt us; and therefore adviſed that they would join

their Intereſts to his, in order to prevent this Inundation. His Propoſition was readily embraced by the corrupt part of the Lawyers and Clergy, and ſo he became their Protector, and they the humble Supporters of his Tyranny. But that his Uſurpation might ſeem leſs horrid, he ſo contrived it by his Inſtruments, that ſome of the Convention muſt openly manifeſt their Diſapprobation of their own Proceedings, and under divers ſpecious Pretences put a Period to their ſitting. To this end it was agreed by Mr. *Rouſe*, Chairman to that Aſſembly, and the reſt of *Cromwel*'s Junto, to meet earlier in the Houſe than was uſual, which was done accordingly on the 12*th* of *December*, 1653. hoping by ſurprize to obtain a Vote for their Diſſolution. Being met, Col. *Sydenham*, Sir *Charles Wolſeley* and others, according to their Inſtructions, bitterly inveighed againſt the Tranſactions of the Convention, and particularly charged them with a Deſign to deſtroy the Army, by not making a ſufficient and timely proviſion for their Pay. They alledged, that tho they had voted them a Sum of Money, yet having reſolved to raiſe it by way of a Pound-rate, it would take up ſo much time to bring it in, that the Army muſt either ſtarve by want, or oppreſs the Country by Free Quarter. A ſecond Ground of their Invectives was taken from a Motion made that the great Officers of the Army ſhould ſerve without Pay for one Year. They accuſed them alſo of endeavouring to de-

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ſtroy the Clergy, the Law, and the Propriety of the Subject, inſtancing in their denying a Right of Preſentation to the Patrons of Eccleſiaſtical Benefices: In general, that they had not a frame of Spirit to do Juſtice, which they would have made out by their not relieving Sir *John Stawell*, when he made his Application to them. Thus they endeavoured to cajole the Clergy, Lawyers, Cavaliers, and all Intereſts, except that which they ſhould have had moſt regard to.

They thought to have prevented any Debate about their Deſign, by meeting ſo early in the Morning; but they were deceived, and enough found in the Houſe to anſwer their Objections. To that concerning the Army it was ſaid, That the Pound-rate was found to be the moſt equal way of raiſing Money, and therefore reſolved upon by them; not at all doubting that it would come in ſoon enough for the Soldiers Supply: That they thought it reaſonable and juſt, that the great Officers of the Army who were poſſeſſed of plentiful Eſtates, and had received all their Arrears, ſhould abate ſomewhat of their Superfluities, and ſerve for a little time freely, as well as thoſe who were employed in Civil Affairs, whoſe Labour and Hazard was as great, and both equally concerned in the Publick Good: eſpecially conſidering how much this Conduct would contribute to the Eaſe and Satisfaction of the People, who could not be ignorant that there were now no preſſing

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Occaſions of Charge or Danger, the Enemy being every where entirely ſubdued. To what had been done in order to a Reformation of the Law and Clergy, it was anſwered, That as they conceived there was great need of it, ſo they had been told that they were called together principally for that end; and that if they had done any thing too much therein, the Gentlemen who blamed them for it were very unfit ſo to do, having themſelves been the Men that preſſed them continually to go much farther than they had done. To the Objection concerning Preſentations they ſaid, that the Method uſed therein ſeemed to them too unreaſonable to be continued, it being in effect to give a Power to the greateſt of the Pariſh, who were not always the beſt, to preſcribe what Religion they pleaſed to the Pariſhioners, by preſenting a Perſon, howſoever unfit for that Office, to be their Miniſter. Laſtly, in anſwer to the Charge of denying Relief to Sir *John Stawel*, it was anſwered, that the Conſideration of that Matter was before them, and that they would not fail to act as his Caſe deſerved. The Debate thus ſpun out, the Houſe began to fill, ſo that *Cromwel*'s Party deſpairing to carry their Deſign by Vote, broke off in an abrupt manner, ſaying, that it was not a time to debate, but to do ſomething that might prevent thoſe Inconveniences which they pretended did threaten them. Then Mr. *Rouſe*, who was of the Plot, deſcending from his Chair, went out of the Houſe,

Houſe, and with the reſt of the Cabal repaired to *Whitehall*, where they ſubſcribed a Writing, taking notice of the Power with which the Army had intruſted them, and of the ſenſe they had of their own Inability to bring any thing to Perfection for the Good and Settlement of the Nation: and that therefore they reſigned that Power into the hands of *Cromwel*, from whom they had received it.

The other part of that Aſſembly, who came with honeſt Minds and ſincere Intentions to perform their Duty and to ſerve their Country, kept their Places in the Houſe, and would not quit them till they were removed by a Guard of Souldiers ſent by *Cromwel* to that end. And it ſeems remarkable, that tho this Body of Men had not a clear Authority according to the National Conſtitution, and were called together with a Deſign of rendring them odious, as well as to ſcare the Lawyers and Clergy into a Compliance with *Cromwel*; yet many being convinced of the Rectitude of their Intentions, were brought over daily to approve their Actions. And as this treacherous and unworthy Reſignation of the Power to *Cromwel* could not be carried by a Vote in the Houſe, ſo I have been informed that the major part of thoſe who were Members of that Aſſembly could never be perſwaded to ſign the Paper for that Reſignation, tho importuned to it by all politick and deviliſh Arguments imaginable.

This Convention, who derived all the Authority

thority they had from *Cromwel*, being diſſolved, after they had driven the Clergy and corrupt part of the Lawyers into his Net, as had been deſigned, all Men were full of Expectation what ſtep he would take next to advance himſelf. And becauſe all honeſt Men who ſtood near the Centre of his Actions had loſt all hopes of Good from him, he began to court and cajole thoſe that were at a diſtance, whom he hoped the more eaſily to ſurprize, as leſs acquainted with his treacherous Deſigns. Amongſt others I received a Meſſage from him by one of my Relations, to aſſure me of his Friendſhip and Intentions to do as much for me as for any Man.

After a few days a Council of Field-Officers was ſummoned, where Major General *Lambert* having rehearſed the ſeveral ſteps and degrees by which things had been brought to the preſent State wherein they were, and preſſed the Neceſſity incumbent upon the Army to provide ſomething in the room of what was lately taken away, preſented to them a Paper intituled, *An Inſtrument of Government*, which he read in his place. Some of the Officers being convinced that the Contents of this Inſtrument tended to the ſacrificing all our Labours to the Luſt and Ambition of a ſingle Perſon, began to declare their Unwillingneſs to concur in it. But they were interrupted by the Major General, and informed that it was not now to be diſputed, Whether this ſhould be the Form of Government

vernment or not, for that was already resolved, it having been under Consideration for two Months past: neither was it brought before them with any other Intention than to give them Permission to offer any Amendments they might think fit, with a Promise that they should be taken into Consideration. The Council of Officers perceiving to what Terms they were restrained, proposed, that it might be declared in this Instrument, that the General of the Army should after this first time be held uncapable of being *Protector*; (for that was the Title given by this Instrument to the Chief Magistrate, tho some were said to have moved that it might be *King*) That none of the Relations of the last Protector should be chosen at the next succeeding Election; and that a General Council of all the Commission Officers who were about the Town should be summoned to consider thereof. To these Propositions they could obtain no other Answer, than that they should be offered to the General, which was the Title they yet gave to *Cromwel*. At the next Meeting of Officers it was not thought fit to consult with them at all; but they were openly told by Major General *Lambert*, that the General would take care of managing the Civil Government; and then having required them to repair to their respective Charges, where their Troops and Companies lay, that they might preserve the Publick Peace, he dismissed them.

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Thus was this important Buſineſs that ſo highly concerned the Nation, and in ſome meaſure all *Europe*, in a clandeſtine manner carried on and huddled up by two or three Perſons; for more they were not who were let into the Secret of it, ſo that it may juſtly be called a Work of Darkneſs. This Inſtrument appointed the Legiſlative Power to be in the Repreſentative of the People and the Protector; That a Parliament ſhould be choſen every three Years, which ſhould ſit five Months, if they thought fit, without any Interruption: That their firſt Meeting ſhould be on the thirteenth of *September* next enſuing: That the Members of whom the Parliament was to conſiſt, ſhould be choſen by the People: That whatſoever they would have enacted, ſhould be preſented to the Protector for his Conſent; and that if he did not confirm it within twenty days after it was firſt tendred to him, it ſhould have the Force and Obligation of a Law; provided that it extended not to leſſen the Number or Pay of the Army, to puniſh any Man on account of his Conſcience, or to make any Alteration in the Inſtrument of Government; in all which a Negative was reſerved to the ſingle Perſon. It provided alſo that all Writs ſhould iſſue out in the Protector's Name: That moſt of the Magiſtrates ſhould be appointed, and all Honours conferred by him: That he ſhould have the Power of the Militia by Sea and Land: That in the Intervals of Parliament the Nation ſhould be governed

verned by the Protector and his Council, who were not to exceed the Number of one and twenty, nor to be under thirteen. The firſt Perſons nominated to be of his Council were Major General *Lambert*, Col. *Desborough*, Mr. *Henry Lawrence*, Sir *Charles Wolſely*, Col. *William Sydenham*, Mr. *Francis Rouſe*, *Philip* Viſcount *Liſle*, Col. *Philip Jones*, Col. *Montague*, Mr. *Richard Major*, *Walter Strickland* Eſq; Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Major General *Skippon*, and Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, in all fourteen. It was obſerved, that in the choice of this Council, ſuch were put in for the moſt part who had been principal Inſtruments in the Interruption of the late Aſſembly, and leading Men in the Reſignation of that Power into the Hands of *Cromwel*; and becauſe nothing of Honour or Conſcience could be preſumed to oblige them to be faithful to *Cromwell* and his Government, tho they took an Oath to that purpoſe, he as a publick Robber having poſſeſſed himſelf of the Purſe of the Nation, diſtributed a thouſand Pounds a Year to each of his Council. He alſo eſtabliſhed a Commiſſion for the viewing and taking care of all Foreſts, Fees and Lands belonging to the late King, Queen, and Prince, under pretence of improving them to the Advantage of the Commonwealth, but indeed in order to convert them to his own Profit. The Management of the Treaſury was put into the hands of Col. *Desborough*, *Montague*, and *Sydenham*, who were his Creatures; to whom

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was added Mr. *William Maſham*, a worthy Gentleman, and a Member of Parliament, placed there by *Cromwel*, upon Information that he had divers Relations of conſiderable Intereſt in the Clergy-Party, together with a numerous Family, and ſmall Eſtate during his Father's Life, which Conſiderations prevailed with the ſaid Gentleman to accept of that Employment.

Things being thus prepared, the Mayor and Aldermen of *London* were required to attend at *Whitehall* in their Scarlet Gowns, whither when they came the Deſign was imparted to them, and they being under the Power of an Army, were forced to contribute to this Pageantry, by accompanying *Cromwel* to *Weſtminſter-hall*. The Commiſſioners of the Seal, the Judges, and Barons of the *Exchequer*, marched firſt, the Council of the Commonwealth following them, and then the Mayor, Sheriffs, and the Aldermen of *London* in their Robes. After them came the General with a great number of the Officers of the Army, Major General *Lambert* carrying the Sword before him into the Court of Chancery; where after the General had heard the Inſtrument of Government read, and taken the Oath as directed in the Cloſe of the ſaid Inſtrument, Major General *Lambert* kneeling, preſented him with a Sword in the Scabbard, repreſenting the Civil Sword; which *Cromwel* accepting, put off his own, intimating thereby that he would no longer rule by the Military Sword, tho like a falſe Hypocrite

crite he designed nothing more. The Commissioners delivered the Seals to him, and the Mayor of *London* the Sword, all which he restored again, with an Exhortation to use them well; and having assured them that he would not have undertaken this Charge, but to make use of it for the good of the Publick, he returned to *Whitehal* in the same manner and order as he came. His Council having taken their places, issued out Orders to all Counties and considerable Corporations for the proclaiming *Oliver Cromwel* Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; and care was taken to alter all legal Writs and Process from the Title of the *Keepers of the Liberties of England*, to that of *Protector*. A Declaration also was published impowering all those who stood lawfully invested with any Office of Judicature, or with the Power of the Admiralty on the 20*th* of the present *December*, to continue in their Imployments till farther Order.

The News of this great Alteration of Affairs was very unwelcome to us in *Ireland*, because contrary to the Oaths which had been taken, and especially to the Engagement, whereby all that took it, promised Fidelity to the Commonwealth of *England*, as it was established without a King or House of Lords: which Engagement having subscribed both with Hand and Heart, I was resolved to use my best Endeavours, either to oppose this U-

ſurpation, or at leaſt not to do any thing that might contribute to the ſtrengthning of it. To this end, when it was preſſed by ſome Court-Paraſites amongſt us, that ſeeing things were brought to this paſs, and that there was now no other Face of Authority in being; therefore to prevent the Deſigns of our Enemies, the Commiſſioners of Parliament ſhould proclaim *Cromwel* Protector in *Dublin* and other parts of *Ireland*: I objected againſt it as a thing evil in it ſelf, tending to the betraying of our Cauſe, and contrary to an Act of Parliament; that if it were but dubious whether it were evil or no, we ought at leaſt to expect an Order from thoſe who had the Power in their Hands, which as yet we had not received. By this means I hindred the proclaiming of him in *Ireland* for more than a Fortnight, tho continually earneſtly preſſed to a Compliance. But a Day being appointed for the Conſideration of that Affair, the Commiſſioners with three or four chief Officers, of whoſe Integrity and Abilities we had the beſt opinion, met in Lieut. General *Fleetwood*'s Chamber in the Caſtle, where after near five hours Debate, and the Queſtion put, the Votes were found to be equal on both ſides. In that inſtant of time Mr. *Roberts* the Auditor General coming thither upon ſome particular buſineſs of the Army, Lieut. General *Fleetwood* being well acquainted with his flattering Spirit, and earneſtly deſiring to have the thing done, gave him Liberty to declare

his Opinion; which, when he had done in the Affirmative, the Lieut. General took his Concurrence (he being a General Officer) to be a Deciſion of the Controverſy. So it was reſolved to be done, and an Order directed to be drawn up for that purpoſe, which the Commiſſioners endeavoured to perſwade me to ſign; but I poſitively refuſing ſo to do, they ordered it to be ſigned by their Secretary in the name of the Commiſſion; which way was taken, that it might not appear that any of the Commiſſioners Hands were wanting to the Proclamation. At this Ceremony there was but a thin Appearance, ſome Captains and inferior Officers; but no Colonel nor General Officer, except Sir *Hardreſs Waller* and one Col. *Moore* were preſent. The Herald at Arms, who made Proclamation, was clothed in black; but the Artillery, which was at the Command of Lieut. General *Fleetwood*, waſted ſome of the Powder belonging to the Publick, the Report of which was very unwelcome Muſick to me, who deſiring to be as far from this Pageantry as I could, rode out of Town that Afternoon.

Having done what I could to obſtruct the Proclamation of that, which was called an Inſtrument of Government, impoſed upon the People by the Military Sword, contrary to many Oaths and ſolemn Ingagements, as well as to the Intereſt and Expectations of the People, I thought my ſelf obliged in Duty to act

no further in my Civil Capacity as Comiſſioner of Parliament, leſt I ſhould ſeem by acting with them, to acknowledg this as a lawful Authority: To that end I forbore to go to *Cork-Houſe*, which was the uſual place where the Commiſſioners of Parliament met; but Lieut. General *Fleetwood* by great Importunity did once prevail with me to be preſent there, and to give my Advice in ſome things that abſolutely concerned the Peace of *Ireland*; after which time I never gave any Vote amongſt them, or ſet my Hand to any of their Orders, tho preſſed to do it by divers honeſt and well-meaning Men. But becauſe I was always ready to call in queſtion my own Judgment, when different from knowing and conſcientious Perſons, I conſented that a Day might be appointed to conſult with them touching my Duty in this Conjuncture. The moſt weighty Arguments which were then uſed to perſwade me to continue in my Imployments were, That ſuppoſing *Cromwel* to be a Tyrant, to have no juſt Call to his preſent Imployment, and a wicked Man, as moſt of them were ſo ingenuous to acknowledg him to be; yet they declared themſelves to be of opinion, that a good Man might act under him; and for proof of this they urged the Example of *Cornelius*, who was a Centurion under *Nero*. To this I anſwered, That tho in an evil Government already eſtabliſhed, an honeſt Man may take an Imployment, and bleſs God for ſuch an Op-

portunity of doing good, yet our Case seemed to me to be very different, the Dispute lying now between Tyranny and Liberty; and that I durst not in any measure contribute to the support of Tyranny against the Liberty of my Country. Another Argument much prest was, that by declining my Station I should neglect an occasion of doing some good, and lay a necessity upon those in Power to imploy others, who might do mischief. To this I replied, That it was not lawful to do the least Evil for the attaining the greatest Good; and that I apprehended it to be an evil thing to fortify *Cromwel* in his Usurpation; that I hoped I should do more good by my open Protestation against his Injustice, and declining to act under him, than by the contrary means: For should all Men who continued well affected to the Interest of the Commonwealth, refuse to act in the present state of Affairs, there could be no way thought of, in my opinion, more probable to reduce the Usurper to his right Senses; who not daring to trust such as had acted against him, must of necessity by this means be left destitute of Instruments to carry on his unjust Designs. A third Argument was, That I should wait to see how he would use his Power, which if he improved to evil ends, I should then find many others to join with, who would be as ready to oppose him as my self. To this also I answered, That I was fully convinced of the Injustice of his Undertaking;

king ; that he had betrayed his Maſters, under colour that they would not reform the Law and the Clergy; and that having called an Aſſembly in order, as he pretended, to accompliſh that Work, he had now broken them alſo for endeavouring to do it; that as ſoon as he had made the corrupt Intereſts of the Nation ſenſible of their Danger, he had contracted an Alliance with them, and was become their Protector; That it could not be reaſonably expected that he ſhould do any thing towards their Reformation, becauſe every ſtep he ſhould take towards the leſſening of their Credit, would tend to the weakening of his own Authority; and that he was no leſs neceſſitated to be a Vaſſal to them, than he deſigned the reſt of the Nation to be Slaves to him. Tho for theſe and other Reaſons I durſt not act in my Civil Capacity, yet I was unwilling to decline the Exerciſe of my Military Authority as Lieutenant General of the Horſe, having received my Commiſſion from the Parliament, which I reſolved to keep, till it ſhould be forced from me, and to act by it in order to attain thoſe Ends for which I received it, the principal whereof were, to bring thoſe to Juſtice who had been guilty of the Blood of many thouſands of Engliſh Proteſtants, and to reſtore the Engliſh who remained alive to the Lands which had been taken from them by the Iriſh. And tho much of this Work was already effected; yet it was no leſs a Duty to bring

bring it to perfection than to begin it, and to defend our Country-men in a juſt Poſſeſſion, than to gain it for them. Neither was it impoſſible that as one had made uſe of the Military Sword to deſtroy the Civil Authority, ſo others might have an opportunity to reſtore it by the ſame means.

One of the firſt important Affairs of *Cromvel*'s new Government, was to make Peace with the Dutch, which the low Condition they had been brought into by the good Conduct of the Parliament made them earneſtly to deſire. In the Articles ſome ſeeming Proviſion was made for bringing thoſe to Juſtice, who had been guilty of the Blood of the Engliſh at *Amboyna*, if they could be found. The Dutch alſo undertook to reimburſe to our Merchants the Loſſes they ſuſtained by the Seizure of twenty two Ships in *Denmark*; the Duty of ſtriking the Flag to the Engliſh in the Narrow Seas was acknowledged, and compliance promiſed with the Act of Parliament, whereby all foreign Commodities were forbidden to be brought into *England* ſave in Engliſh Bottoms, except by ſuch Veſſels as properly belonged to that Country where thoſe Commodities ſhould grow. By another Article it was agreed that the Enemies of the reſpective Nations ſhould not be protected by either of them; but there was no proviſion made by this Treaty for the Coaleſcence ſo much inſiſted upon during the Adminiſtration of Affairs by the Parliament.

The Lord *Whitlock*, who had been ſent Ambaſſador to the Crown of *Sweden* by the Parliament, acquainted the Queen with the late Change of Government, producing Letters of Credence from *Cromwel*, and owning him as his Maſter; upon which he was received as kindly as formerly by the Queen, who ſigned the Articles agreed upon by the two Nations, to the great ſatisfaction of both.

Cromwel having thus all clear before him, and no Enemy in the Field, except only in the *Highlands* of *Scotland*, a conſiderable Army by Land, and a powerful Fleet at Sea, all the Souldiers fully paid, with a Months Advance; the Stores ſufficiently ſupplied with all Proviſions for Sea and Land; three hundred thouſand Pounds of ready Mony in *England*, and one hnndred and fifty thouſand Pounds in the Treaſury of *Ireland*; he removed from the Cockpit, which Houſe the Parliament had aſſigned him, to take poſſeſſion of *Whitehal*, which he aſſigned to himſelf. His Wife ſeemed at firſt unwilling to remove thither, tho afterwards ſhe became better ſatisfied with her Grandeur; but his Mother, who by reaſon of her great Age was not ſo eaſily flattered with theſe Temptations, very much miſtruſted the Iſſue of Affairs, and would be often afraid, when ſhe heard the Noiſe of a Muſquet, that her Son was ſhot, being exceedingly diſſatisfied, unleſs ſhe might ſee him once a day at leaſt: But ſhe ſhortly after dying, left him the Poſſeſſion

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of what ſhe held in Jointure, which was reported not to exceed ſixty Pounds by Year, tho he out of the publick Purſe expended much more at her Interment, and amongſt other needleſs Ceremonies, cauſed many hundred Torches to be carried with the Hearſe, tho ſhe was buried by day-light.

This Uſurper endeavouring to fix himſelf in his Throne by all ways imaginable, gave Direction to the Judges, who were ready to go their ſeveral Circuits, to take eſpecial care to extend all Favour and Kindneſs to the Cavalier Party. He himſelf reſtored Col. *Grace*, a notorious Iriſh Rebel, to his Eſtate; and ſent a Letter in favour of the Lord *Fitz-Williams*, who had been Lieutenant General in *Preſton*'s Army in *Ireland*: But he dealt otherways with thoſe whom formerly he had moſt courted, ſummoning Major General *Harriſon*, Col. *Rich*, Mr. *Carew*, and others, before the Council; requiring ſuch of them as had Commiſſions from him to ſurrender them, upbraiding Major General *Harriſon* with his Carriage to him, and charging him with coveting his Imployment when he was ſick in *Scotland*: And becauſe they refuſed to engage not to act againſt him and his Government, he ſent them to ſeveral Priſons. Major General *Harriſon* was ordered to be carried to *Carisbrooke* Caſtle in the *Iſle of Wight*, Mr. *Carew* was ſent to *Pendennis* in *Cornwal*, and Col. *Rich* confined to the Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms. Soon after Mr. *Rogers*,

Rogers, Mr. *Feak*, and Mr. *Sympſon*, Miniſters, having publickly declared againſt his Uſurpation both by printing and preaching, were alſo impriſoned. So having changed his Intereſt, and taken off his Maſque, he ſent his ſecond Son Col. *Henry Cromwel* into *Ireland*, to feel the Pulſe of the Officers there touching his coming over to command in that Nation, where he arrived attended only by one Servant; and landing near my Country-houſe, I ſent my Coach to receive him, and to bring him thither, where he ſtayed till Lieut. General *Fleetwood* with ſeveral Officers came with Coaches to conduct him to *Dublin*. Having made what Obſervations he could of Perſons and Things in *Ireland*, he reſolved upon his Return; of which having given me Advice, I deſired him to take my Houſe in his way, and to that end dined with him on the day of his Departure at the Lieutenant General's in the Caſtle. After Dinner we went together to my Houſe at *Moncktown*, where after a ſhort Collation walking in the Garden, I acquainted him with the Grounds of my Diſſatisfaction with the preſent ſtate of Affairs in *England*, which I aſſured him was in no ſort perſonal, but would be the ſame were my own Father alive, and in the Place of his. He told me that his Father looked upon me to be diſſatisfied upon a diſtinct account from moſt Men in the three Nations; and thereupon affirmed that he knew it to be his Reſolution to carry himſelf with all

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Tenderneſs towards me. I told him that I ought to have ſo much Charity for his Father, to believe that he apprehended his late Undertaking to have been abſolutely neceſſary, being well aſſured that he was not ſo weak a Man to decline his former Station, wherein his Power was as great, and his Wealth as much as any rational Man could wiſh to procure to himſelf nothing but Envy and Trouble. I ſuppoſed he would have agreed with me in theſe Sentiments; but he inſtead of that acknowledged the Ambition of his Father in theſe Words; *You that are here may think he had Power, but they made a very Kickſhaw of him at* London. I replied that if it were ſo, they did ill; for he had deſerved much from them. Then I proceeded to arquaint him with my Reſolution not to act in my Civil Employment, and my expectation not to be permitted to continue in my Military Command; to which he anſwered, that he was confident I ſhould receive no Interruption therein. I told him I could not foreſee what his Father would do; but inclined to think that no other Man in his Caſe would permit it. To this I added, that the Reaſon of my drawing a Sword in this War, was to remove thoſe Obſtructions that the Civil Magiſtrate met with in the diſcharge of his Duty; which being now accompliſhed, I could not but think that all things ought for the future to run in their proper and genuine Channel: For as the extraordinary Remedy is not to be

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uſed till the ordinary fail to work its proper effect, ſo ought it to be continued no longer than the neceſſity of uſing it ſubſiſts; whereas this that they called a Government had no other means to preſerve it ſelf, but ſuch as were violent; which not being natural, could not be laſting. Would you then, ſaid he, have the Sword laid down? I cannot but think you believe it to be as much your Intereſt to have it kept up as any Man: I confeſſed I had been of that opinion whilſt I was perſwaded there was a neceſſity of it, which ſeeming to me to be now over, I accounted it to be much more my Intereſt to ſee it well laid down, there being a vaſt difference between uſing the Sword to reſtore the people to their Rights and Privileges, and the keeping it up for the robbing and deſpoiling them of the ſame. But Company coming in, and the time for his going on board approaching, we could not be permitted to continue our Diſcourſe; ſo after we had taken leave of each other, he departed from *Ireland*, and upon his Arrival at *Cheſter* was attended by many of the late King's Party; and amongſt others by Col. *Molſon*, who inquiring of him how he left Affairs in *Ireland*, he anſwered very well, only that ſome who were in love with their Power muſt be removed.

In the mean time *Cromwel* ſo ordered matters at *London*, that he procured himſelf, his Officers, and Council to be invited by the City to Dinner, which was managed with all poſ-

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ſible ſtate. He and the reſt of his Company rode on Horſeback through the City; the Mayor and Aldermen met him at *Temple-Bar*, where the Mayor, as an acknowledgment of his Authority, delivered the Sword to him, and he (as Kings uſe to do) reſtored it to him again. He was harangu'd by the Recorder, and the Mayor riding bareheaded carried the Sword before him, the ſeveral Liveries in their Gowns ſtanding on each ſide of the Streets, where he paſſed. Commiſſary General *Reynolds* and Col. *Whalley* led a Troop of three hundred Officers to Grocers Hall, being the Place appointed for the Entertainment; which being ended, he beſtowed a Badg of his Uſurpation in conferring a Knighthood upon Alderman *Thomas Viner*, then Mayor of *London*. This was principally contrived, to let the World underſtand how good a Correſpondence there was between him and the City of *London*; yet amongſt diſcerning Men it had a contrary effect, who knew it to be rather an act of Force than of Choice in the City, as appeared in the great Silence and little Reſpect that was given him in his Paſſage through the Streets: And tho he, to invite them to it, rode bare headed the greateſt part of the way; and tho ſome of his Creatures had placed themſelves at the Entrance of *Cheapſide*, and began to ſhout, yet it took not at all with the People.

About this time *Cromwel* having reſolved upon a foreign Expedition, drew out five or ſix thouſand

thouſand Men, by which Artifice he not only alarm'd foreign States, but alſo engaged all the Reformade Officers to his Party, who otherwiſe would have been ready to join with any Party againſt him. Col. *Venables* was choſen to command this Army; and tho the particular Deſign of theſe Preparations was not certainly known, yet it was ſoon ſuſpected to be againſt ſome of the King of *Spain*'s Territories. Vice Admiral *Pen* commanded the Fleet that was to tranſport them, which conſiſted of ſixteen or ſeventeen Men of War, beſides the Veſſels of Tranſportation. When they arrived at the *Barbadoes*, they made Proclamation there, that whoſoever would engage in the Undertaking ſhould have his Freedom, whereupon about two thouſand Servants liſted themſelves to the great damage of the Planters. The Spaniſh Ambaſſador being informed that the Fleet was gone towards the *Weſt-Indies*, and that the Storm was likely to fall upon ſome of his Maſter's Territories, made application to *Cromwel* to know whether he had any juſt ground of Complaint againſt the King his Maſter, and if ſo, that he was ready to give him all poſſible Satisfaction. *Cromwel* demanded a Liberty to trade to the Spaniſh *Weſt-Indies*, and the repeal of the Laws of the Inquiſition. To which the Ambaſſador replied, That his Maſter had but two Eyes, and that he would have him to put them both out at once. The Goods of our Merchants trading in *Spain* were ſeized for want of timely notice

to

to withdraw their Effects from thence. And one Major *Walters* with others concerned with him in the Tranſportation of Iriſh Souldiers into the Spaniſh Service, loſt thirty thouſand Pounds, which remained due to them from the King of *Spain*.

The Fleet being arrived at *Hiſpaniola*, whether thro any Difference between Col. *Venables*, who commanded the Army, and Vice Admiral *Pen*, who commanded the Fleet, or for what other reaſon is not eaſy to determine, they neglected to land their Army near the Town, as was adviſed by many of the Officers, and as they might eaſily have done, with great probability of taking the Town, which moſt of the Inhabitants had deſerted: But the Army having landed far from the Town, were upon their March towards it, when the Forlorn was attacked at the Entrance of a Wood by forty or fifty Fellows, who were imployed to kill the wild Cows of that Country. This inconſiderable number of Men put the Forlorn to flight; and they retreating in great diſorder ſtruck the whole Army with ſuch a panick Fear, that they began to ſhift for themſelves, and could not be prevailed with either by Promiſes or Threatnings to keep their ground. Which being obſerved by Major General *Haines*, and five or ſix Officers more, they reſolved either to put a ſtop to the Purſuit of the Enemy, or not to outlive the Diſgrace: Thereupon they made a ſtand and fought them, till the Major General

General and moſt of the reſt were killed. During this time our Forces rallied, yet could not recover Courage enough to charge that inconſiderable Enemy; and thoſe very Men, who when they fought for the Liberties of their Country, had performed Wonders, having now engaged to ſupport the late erected Tyranny, diſgracefully fled when there was none to purſue them. The Expedition againſt *Hiſpaniola* proving unſucceſsful, they ſhipped themſelves, and ſoon after arrived at the Iſland of *Jamaica*, belonging alſo to the Spaniards: Which being but meanly fortified, the Inhabitants, who lived for the moſt part together in the principal Town, ran away, and betook themſelves to the Woods, leaving what they could not carry away to be plundered by the Army. Col. *Venables* being diſabled by Sickneſs to perform the Functions of his Office, was permitted by the Council of Officers to return into *England*; and Vice-Admiral *Pen* ſuſpecting he would lay the whole Blame of that Affair on him, obtained leave alſo: and being both arrived, they were heard at *Whitehal* one againſt the other; where the Accuſations of both ſeemed to be of more weight than the Defences of either of them. So *Pen* was committed to the Tower, and Col. *Venables* confined to his Lodging, the Diſtemper that was upon him excuſing him from a ſtricter Impriſonment.

According

According to the Promiſe contained in the Inſtrument of Government, it was reſolved to iſſue out Writs for the Election of Members to ſerve in an Aſſembly at *Weſtminſter*, who were to be choſen, not by ſmall Boroughs, and two for each County, as formerly, but in ſuch manner as had been agreed upon by the Parliament in the Rule for chuſing ſucceſſive Repreſentatives, which indeed was much more equal and juſt. And becauſe it was provided by the ſame Inſtrument, that thirty Members ſhould be ſent by *Ireland*, and the ſame Number by *Scotland*, to ſit in the Houſe, Letters were ſent by *Cromwel* and his Council to the Commiſſioners there, acquainting them with that Clauſe in the Inſtrument of Government, and deſiring their Advice touching the enſuing Election. Some of the Commiſſioners in *Ireland* were of Opinion, that if the Proprietors ſhould chuſe, they would return ſuch as were Enemies to the Engliſh Intereſt, and therefore propoſed that for this time *Cromwel* and his Council ſhould nominate the Thirty who were to be choſen for that Nation. This Queſtion coming before the Commiſſioners before the arrival of the new Set nominated by *Cromwel*, tho I reſolved to intermeddle as little as might be, yet this Advice ſeemed ſo ſtrange to me, that I could not forbear to deſire of them, that ſeeing we had no more of Liberty left but the Name, they would at leaſt retain the Form, in hopes that in time Men might become

ſo ſenſible of their own Intereſt as to be enabled thereby to recover the Efficacy and Subſtance of it, eſpecially ſince it was moſt probable that by the Influence of thoſe in Power the ſame Perſons would be choſen that they deſired. To this they agreed; and having proportioned the Cities and Counties for the Election before the iſſuing out the Writs, a private Junto was held by Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, who agreed upon the Perſons that they would have choſen for each Place, which they had a great Advantage to effect, having nominated and fitted the Sheriffs and other Officers for that purpoſe. The Court-party endeavoured to promote the Election of ſuch as would center in adoring the Idol lately ſet up, however different in Opinions about other Matters. The Clergy in ſome Parts proved ſo ſtrong, that they carried it againſt thoſe agreed on by the Court; but both Parties concurred in the decrying all ſuch who would not ſacrifice the Cauſe of the Publick to the Ambition of Men. In *England* they better underſtood the Deſign that was carrying on, inſomuch that many Perſons of known Vertue and Integrity were choſen to ſit in this Aſſembly, in particular the Lord Preſident *Bradſhaw*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, Mr. *Thomas Scott*, Mr. *Robert Wallup*, and divers others. When the time appointed for the Meeting of this Aſſembly was come, *Cromwel* went in a Coach to *Weſtminſter*, accompanied by his Horſe and Foot Guard, with many Officers of the

Army on foot; where being arrived, his firſt Buſineſs was to appear in his Kingly Garb at the Abby, there to hear a Sermon with the Members of that Aſſembly before they went about their other Affairs. Which done, he went into the Painted Chamber, where he entertained the Members with a tedious Speech, wherein he endeavoured to make it appear, that things were brought to this paſs, not by his Contrivance, but by the over-ruling Hand of God; aſſuring them, that he was much rejoiced to ſee ſo free an Aſſembly of the People met together, and that he reſolved to ſubmit himſelf to their Judgment. But notwithſtanding theſe ſpecious Pretences, he cauſed the Lord *Grey* of *Grooby*, Mr. *John Wildman*, Mr. *Highland*, and others, who had always manifeſted a conſtant Affection to the Commonwealth, to be excluded from the Houſe. And tho many undue Methods had been uſed at the Elections to procure thoſe to be choſen who were Enemies, and to keep out many who were known Friends to the Common Cauſe; and tho they ſaw themſelves under the Power of one who they knew would force his way to the Throne, yet they appeared in a few days not to be for his purpoſe, but reſolved, at the leaſt, to lay a Claim to their Liberties. For whereas the Court-party would have obliged them to approve at once the whole Inſtrument of Government which they had framed, the Aſſembly took it in pieces, and referred the Conſideration of it

to a Committee, where the firſt Queſtion fallen upon was, *Whether the Supreme Legiſlative Power of the Nation ſhall be in a ſingle Perſon and the Parliament.* In this Debate Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, Mr. *Scott*, and many others, eſpecially the Lord Preſident *Bradſhaw*, were very inſtrumental in opening the Eyes of many young Members who had never before heard their Intereſt ſo clearly ſtated and aſſerted; ſo that the Commonwealth-Party increaſed daily, and that of the Sword loſt ground. *Cromwel* being informed of theſe Tranſactions by his Creatures, and fearing to have that great Queſtion put; leſt he ſhould be depoſed, by a Vote of this Aſſembly, from the Throne which he had uſurped, cauſed a Guard to be ſet upon the Door of the Houſe early in the Morning, and ſent to the Mayor of *London* to acquaint him with the Reaſons of what he was about to do, to the end that he might prevent any Diſorders in the City. The Members coming at the uſual hour, were refuſed the door, and required to attend him in the Painted Chamber; where he taking notice of what was under Debate in the Houſe, contrary to the Privilege of a Parliament, (as he would have this thought to be) told them, that being called by virtue of the Inſtrument of Government to that Aſſembly, they were bound up by the Indentures themſelves, upon which they were returned, from altering the Government by a ſingle Perſon and a Parliament; and that the

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Country having owned him by electing a Parliament called by his Writ, and that the Judges with the Juſtices of Peace having acted by virtue of his Authority, he was reſolved not to permit that Point to be called in queſtion, acquainting them, that no Perſon ſhould be admitted, for the time to come, to ſit as a Member in that Aſſembly, till he had ſubſcribed an Acknowledgment of the Government by a ſingle Perſon and a Parliament. Some of thoſe who had been choſen Members of this Convention, had already declined the Houſe, upon account that *Cromwel* and his Council had excluded from their Places divers Perſons who had been conſtantly faithful to the Publick Intereſt; but ſo ſoon as this viſible Hand of Violence appeared to be upon them, moſt of the eminent Aſſertors of the Liberty of their Country withdrew themſelves, being perſwaded they ſhould better diſcharge their Duty to the Nation by this way of expreſſing their Abhorrence of his Tyrannical Proceedings, than by ſurrendring their Liberties under their own hands, and then treating with him who was poſſeſſed of the Sword, to recover ſome part of them again. However this Engagement was ſigned by about one hundred and thirty Members within a day or two, and ſome days after ſeveral others ſubſcribed it, and took their Places in the Houſe, where a Debate ariſing touching the ſaid Recognition, they paſſed a Declaration, that it ſhould not be intended to

comprehend the whole Government contained in the forty two Articles of the Inſtrument, but that only which required the Government of the Commonwealth to be by a ſingle Perſon and ſucceſſive Parliaments. And to this the major part conſented, hoping that by their compliance with him, in making proviſion for his Safety, and the Government of the Nation during his Life, he would have been ſatisfied therewith, and in Gratitude would have judged the People after his Death to be of Age and Wiſdom ſufficient to chuſe a Government for themſelves. This great Point touching the ſingle Perſon being thus over-ruled, they applied themſelves to the Conſideration and Debate of the remaining Clauſes of the Inſtrument of Government. They declared that he ſhould be Protector during his Life, and limited the Number of Forces to be kept up in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, with Proviſion for the Paiment of them. They agreed upon the Number of Ships that they thought neceſſary for the Guard of the Seas, and ordered two hundred thouſand Pounds a Year for his own Expence, the Salaries of his Council, the Judges, Foreign Intelligence, and the Reception of Ambaſſadors. They alſo voted a Clauſe to be inſerted, to declare the Rights of the People of *England*, and particularly that no Money ſhould be raiſed upon the Nation but by Authority of Parliament. And whereas by the Inſtrument of Government it was provided,

that

that if the Parliament were not ſitting at the Death of the preſent Protector, the Council of Officers ſhould chuſe a Succeſſor; they reſolved, that nothing ſhould be determined by the Council after his Death, but the calling of a Parliament, who were then to conſider what they would have done. Beſides theſe things, I can remember no remarkable Variation from what was formerly ſet down in the Paper called the Inſtrument of Government, except this additional Vote, *That no one Clauſe of this ſhould be looked upon as binding, unleſs the whole were conſented unto.* Which they did, leſt *Cromwel* ſhould interrupt them, and taking what made for his own Advancement, reject what was advantageous to the Commonwealth. Much time was ſpent, and pains taken, to effect this within the time limited, ſo that hardly any private Buſineſs was done all that time, except an Order given to the Exciſe-Office for ſatisfying an old Debt pretended by Col. *John Birch*, one of their Members, a nimble Gentleman, and one who uſed to neglect no Opportunity of providing for himſelf.

The Uſurper, that he might make way for his Poſterity to ſucceed him in his Greatneſs, changed the Title of Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* from that of *Commander in Chief* to that of *Deputy of Ireland*, to continue till ſuch time as it ſhould be thought fit to recal him from thence, and to eſtabliſh his Son *Harry* in his Place. In order to this a Commiſſion was ſent

to *Fleetwood* from *Cromwel*, wherein thoſe who were before called Commiſſioners are now ſtiled only his Counſellors. Having thus modelled the Government of *Ireland*, he began to apply his Care to that of *Scotland*; and knowing *Monk* to be a Souldier, and faithful enough to him, as long as he would gratify his vicious, covetous, and ambitious Inclinations, he entruſted him with the Command of the Forces, and made him one of the Commiſſioners for Civil Affairs in that Nation. But that he might balance him with ſome of another Temper, who might be a Guard upon his Actions, he ſent Col. *Adrian Scroop* to be one of the Comiſſioners there alſo, having firſt cauſed the Caſtle of *Briſtol*, whereof he was Governour, to be ſlighted, not daring to truſt a Perſon of ſo much Honour and Worth with a Place of that Importance. He likewiſe ſent thither Col. *Whetham* with the ſame Character, who having been one of the late Aſſembly, as well as Governour of *Portſmouth*, and underſtanding that a Deſign was on foot to make *Cromwel* King, had in the Houſe applied to him the Saying of the Prophet to *Ahab*, *Haſt thou killed, and alſo taken Poſſeſſion?* By which Words it appearing that this Gentleman was not for *Oliver*'s turn, he removed him from *Portſmouth*, and ſent him to *Scotland* to be one of the Commiſſioners there alſo. The Lord *Broghil* was made Preſident of the Council in *Scotland*, with an Allowance of two thouſand Pounds a Year,

with

with a Promiſe from him, who never kept any but ſuch as ſuted with his corrupt ends, that his Service ſhould be diſpenſed with after one Year, and yet his Salary to continue.

In *Holland* the Party of the Prince of *Orange* having long obſtructed the ſigning of the Articles agreed upon between that State and *Cromwel*, the States General ſent Myn Heer *Beverning* Ambaſſador into *England*, to aſſure *Cromwel*, that if the Provinces did not agree to the Articles within eight days, he had Power from the States General to ſign them in their Names. But before this Peace was concluded, the King of Scots Party had obtained Succours to be ſent to their Friends in *Scotland*, who were augmented to the Number of about five thouſand Horſe and Foot, having received fifteen hundred Foot, two hundred Horſe, and great Numbers of Arms brought to them by ſeventeen *Holland* Ships; ſo that it was thought fit to take Lieutenant General *Monk* from the Fleet, the War at Sea being now over, and to ſend him to take care of Affairs in *Scotland*; but chiefly to keep the Officers there from drawing to a Head againſt *Cromwel*'s Uſurpation. Lieutenant General *Middleton*, with about one hundred Men more, for the moſt part Officers, five hundred Arms, and one hundred and fifty Barrels of Powder, landed alſo in the North of *Scotland*. To oppoſe theſe Forces we ſent fifteen hundred Men from *Ireland* under Lieutenant Col. *Braine*, into the Mountains of *Scotland*,

land, who contributed very much to the ſuppreſſion of them.

Monk being arrived in *Scotland*, divided his Army into ſeveral Bodies, the two principal of which were commanded by himſelf and Col. *Morgan*. With theſe they purſued the Enemy ſo cloſely, that at a Council of War held by them in the County of *Murray*, they made a Reſolution to diſperſe themſelves upon every Alarm, and to meet again at a Rendezvouz to be agreed upon. This being reſolved, they advanced towards the Quarters of Col. *Braine*, where they were warmly received, and forced to retire. *Middleton*, to avoid the Purſuit of ours, diſperſed his Foot into inacceſſible Quarters, and drew together about ſix hundred Horſe at *Kennagh*; whereby *Monk* perceiving that his Deſign was to tire out our Forces, declined following him ſo cloſe, endeavouring to drive him upon Col. *Morgan*, whom *Monk* had informed of the Enemies March. *Middleton* ſeeing himſelf no farther purſued, ſtayed at *Kennagh*; whereupon *Monk* having received advice of the Approach of Col. *Morgan*'s Party, advanced with his Forces towards the Enemy, who retiring towards *Badenorth*, and being about to take their Quarters that Night at *Loughary*, found themſelves engaged at a narrow Paſs by Col. *Morgan*, who deſigned to quarter at the ſame place. *Middleton* endeavouring to retire, was obſtructed by a Moraſs; and being hotly purſued by Col. *Morgan*'s Forces,

Forces, and much haraſſed by difficult Marches, was ſoon routed, many of his Men were killed, and many taken Priſoners; four hundred of their Horſe were taken, together with the Charging and Sumpter Horſes of *Middleton* himſelf, who being wounded in the Action, ſaved himſelf with much difficulty on foot. His Commiſſion, Inſtructions, and divers Letters written to him and his Friends, by their King, were taken alſo; and had not ſuch as fled been favoured by the bad Ways and the Night, very few had eſcaped. The News of this Defeat coming to the Enemies Foot, who were in Number about twelve hundred, they immediately disbanded themſelves, and divers of the Enemies principal Officers came in and ſubmitted, and amongſt them the Earl of *Glencarne*, Lieutenant Col. *Maxwell*, Lieutenant Col. *Herriott*, the Lord *Foreſter*, and Sir *George Monroe*. Yet notwithſtanding this low Condition of that Party in *Scotland*, the Clergy refuſed to obſerve ſuch Faſts as were appointed by the Government in *England*, and inſtead of them appointed others by their own Authority, wherein they exhorted the People, amongſt other things, to ſeek the Lord, to preſerve the Miniſtry among them, to forget the Offences of the Houſe of the *Stewarts*, and to turn from his People the ſad Effects of a late Eclipſe.

A Fleet commanded by General *Blake* was ſent into the Mediterranean, to require Satisfaction from the Grand Duke of *Tuſcany*, for

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Injuries done to our Merchants, and for entertaining and harbouring Prince *Rupert*'s Fleet; in which Expedition he not only procured the Satisfaction demanded, but rendred the Power of *England* ſo formidable not only to all *Italy*, but even to the Grand Seignior himſelf, that they expreſſed a greater Readineſs to preſerve the Friendſhip of the Engliſh than ever they had done before.

In the mean time *Cromwel* having aſſumed the whole Power of the Nation to himſelf, and ſent Ambaſſadors and Agents to Foreign States, was courted again by them, and preſented with the Rarities of ſeveral Countries; amongſt the reſt the Duke of *Holſtein* made him a Preſent of a Set of gray *Frizeland* Coach-Horſes, with which taking the Air in the Park, attended only with his Secretary *Thurlow*, and Guard of Janizaries, he would needs take the Place of the Coachman, not doubting but the three pair of Horſes he was about to drive would prove as tame as the three Nations which were ridden by him: and therefore not contented with their ordinary pace, he laſhed them very furiouſly. But they unaccuſtomed to ſuch a rough Driver, ran away in a Rage, and ſtop'd not till they had thrown him out of the Box, with which Fall his Piſtol fired in his Pocket, tho without any hurt to himſelf; by which he might have been inſtructed how dangerous it was to intermeddle with thoſe things wherein he had no Experience.

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The Repreſentative ſitting at *Weſtminſter*, tho garbled as he thought fit, proving not ſufficiently inclined to ſerve his Deſigns, but rather in prudence yielding to the Strength of the preſent Stream, in hopes the People might in time recover their Oars, and make uſe of them for the publick Good; he grew impatient till the five Months allowed for their ſitting ſhould be expired; during which time he was reſtrained by that which he called *The Inſtrument of Government*, from giving them Interruption. And tho they differed not in any material Point from that Form of Government which he himſelf had ſet up, unleſs it were in reſerving the Nomination of his Succeſſor to the Parliament; yet did the Omiſſion of this one thing ſo inrage him, that he reſolved upon their Diſſolution. They had prepared all things to offer to him, and had been very cautious of giving him any juſt occaſion of Offence, well knowing that in caſe they had given him the leaſt pretence of Diſſatisfaction, he would have laid all the Blame at their door; and therefore they prudently left the ſettling of the Church Government, and the Liberty that was to be extended to tender Conſciences (an Engine by which *Cromwel* did moſt of his work) to the conſideration of the next Aſſembly: Whereupon he wanting wherewith juſtly to accuſe them, unleſs it were for too much complying with him to the prejudice of the Commonwealth, after he had peruſed the Form of

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Government which the Assembly had agreed upon, and tendred to him for his Consideration; the five Months of their Sessions, according to the Souldiers account of twenty eight days to the Month, being expired, they were ordered to attend him on the 22*d* of *January* 1654, in the Painted Chamber, where he made up with Words and Passion what he wanted of Matter to charge them with, accusing them of endeavouring to bring all things into Disorder and Confusion, by raking into the particulars of the Instrument of Government, which he extolled very highly. He charged them with neglecting to make provision for the Army, and necessitating them thereby to take free Quarter, to the great dissatisfaction of the Country, if it had not been prevented by the Care, and at the Expence of the Officers. In this and in many other particulars he very much preferred the Wisdom and Prudence of the Long Parliament, which was the part he proposed now to act, having determined to cry down this. And because he could not accuse them of any Practices against Liberty of Conscience, he charged them with their Principles, and imputed to them all those Discontents and Designs, which were on foot by several Parties against the present Government, affirming that if they had not their Rise from some that sat amongst them (which he thought he should make appear) yet they grew like Shrubs under their Shadow. And that he might

might obviate that Objection, which his own Conſcience told him was the true reaſon of his Diſſatisfaction with what had been agreed on in this Aſſembly, he told them that their not ſettling the Government on him and his Heirs was not the reaſon why he refuſed to conſent to what they preſented to him. For, ſaid he, ſo fully am I convinced (in the Judgment I now am) of the Injuſtice of Hereditary Government, that if you had offered me the whole Inſtrument of Government with that one alteration in favour of my Family, I ſhould have refuſed the whole for the ſake of that; and I do not know tho you have begun with an unworthy Perſon, but hereafter the ſame Method may be obſerved in the Choice of Magiſtrates, as was amongſt the Children of *Iſrael*, who appointed thoſe that had been moſt eminent in delivering them from their Enemies abroad to govern them at home. In which Excuſe three things ſeem remarkable; Firſt, that tho in the Judgment he then was Hereditary Government was unjuſt, yet he reſerved a liberty to alter his Opinion, if he ſhould find Perſons and Things inclining that way. Secondly, in declaring this to be his preſent Opinion, he flattered the Ambition of Major General *Lambert*, and kept him in expectation of ſucceeding him, and ſo ſecured his Aſſiſtance in carrying on his wicked Deſign. In the third place, by deſigning that the General ſhould be always choſen Protector, it appears

pears that he would have had the Nation to be perpetually governed by the Military Sword. Thus did this wise Man (as he would be thought) weaken his own Interest, and lose the Affections of the People: For as by his Interruption of the long Parliament, he disobliged the most sober part of the Nation, so by the Dissolution of this Assembly he opened the Eyes of the rest, who had been hitherto made to believe that he was necessitated to that extraordinary Action, because they would not do those good things for the Nation which were expected from them; and by this reproachful dismission of the Convention, which consisted for the most part of Men of moderate Spirits, and who had gone in the Judgment of the most discerning Men, but too far in compliance with him for the purchase of their present Peace, he made a considerable part of those who had been Friends to him, irreconcilable Enemies, and sent the Members into their respective Countries to relate to their Neighbours and those that sent them what an unreasonable Creature they had found him.

Having dissolved the pretended Representative called by his own Authority, he began by Bribes to corrupt others to his Interest; and to this end ordered the Arrears of Col. *Hewetson* for his English Service to be paid in ready Money, and his Irish Arrears to be satisfied out of forfeited Lands in the County of *Dublin*, at the

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rate of the Adventurers in ſuch places as he ſhould chooſe. He ordered two thouſand Pounds to be paid out of the Treaſury to Mr. *Weaver* in lieu of what the Parliament had ſetled upon him out of the forfeited Lands in *Scotland*, and ten thouſand Pounds in ready Money to Major General *Lambert* in conſideration of one thouſand Pounds by Year out of the ſaid forfeited Lands given to him by the Parliament, not regarding how he laviſhed away the Publick Treaſure, ſo as he might procure ſuch Inſtruments as he thought would be ſubſervient to his unjuſt Deſigns.

By this time many began openly to diſcover their Diſcontents, and particularly the Friends of the Scots King, who tho he ſaw clearly his Game playing by this Uſurper through the Diviſions he made amongſt thoſe, whoſe Intereſt it was to be united in oppoſition to him ; yet being impatient of delay, and not caring how many he ſacrificed, ſo as he might with more expedition recover the Exerciſe of his Power, he ſent over divers Commiſſions for the raiſing of Horſe and Foot, and prevailed with ſome young Gentlemen of little Conſideration and leſs Experience to accept them, and to engage againſt a victorious Army commanded by one, who ſpared not the Purſe of the Commonwealth to procure Intelligence. By which means he cauſed a great number of Arms that were provided for the execution of this Deſign to be ſeized, and impriſoned divers Perſons

concerned in it; wherein he made uſe of one *Baily* a Jeſuit, who diſcovered his Kinſman one Mr. *Bagnal*, Son to the Lady *Terringham*, together with his own Brother Capt. *Nicholas Baily*, accuſing them both of accepting Commiſſions for raiſing a Regiment, which Mr. *Bagnal* upon his examination did not deny. But notwithſtanding this Diſcovery, ſo confident were theſe young Men of Succeſs, that they ſtill carried on their Plot, and appointed a Day for the execution of it. *Cromwel* ſuſpecting they might have ſome Grounds for their Confidence, diſpatched Commiſſary General *Reynolds* to *Ireland* with Orders to cauſe ſome Forces to be imbarked for *England*, and accordingly about two thouſand Foot and three hundred Horſe were ordered to be ſent over to his aſſiſtance; the Foot to be commanded by Col. *Sadler*, and the Horſe by Major *Bolton*. This Party being drawn to the Water-ſide, ſome of the private Soldiers, whether from any Scruple of Conſcience, or from an unwillingneſs to leave their Wives, Children, and Plantations in *Ireland*, I cannot ſay, refuſed to imbark, tho Lieut. General *Fleetwood* with ſeveral Field Officers of the Army were preſent; alledging that they had liſted themſelves to fight againſt the Rebels of *Ireland*, and in proſecution of that Obligation were ready to obey all Commands; that they knew not againſt whom they ſhould be drawn to engage in *England*, poſſibly againſt ſome of their beſt Friends,

Friends, and therefore desired to be excused from that Service. The Officers resolving to compel them by Force to go aboard, called a Court Martial upon the Place, where they condemned one of the most active to Death, and ordered one entire Company to be cashiered; both which Orders were immediately put in execution, by breaking the Company, and hanging the Man upon the Mast of one of the Ships: At this Execution Col. *Hewetson*, who had been lately obliged in the matter of his Arrears, as a Mark of his Gratitude gave order that the poor Man should be hanged higher than was at first designed.

The Cavalier Plot was still on foot in *England*; and tho divers of them were imprisoned, and many Arms seized, yet it was still resolved to attempt something. To this end a Cartload of Arms was conveyed to the place of Rendezvouz agreed upon for the Northern parts, where it was reported the Contrivers of this Design were to be headed by the Lord *Wilmot*. But receiving some Alarm upon their first meeting, and fearing lest the regular Forces should fall upon them before they were sufficiently prepared for their Defence, they dispersed themselves, and left their Arms behind them. The only considerable Party that appeared were those at *Salisbury*, which they had an opportunity of doing under colour of going to the Assizes. They consisted of about one hundred and fifty Horse, and drew together in the

Night, and were ordered to seize the Judges there in Circuit, the Sheriff of the County, and such other Persons as they should suspect to be Enemies to the Design. Col. *Wagstaff* was said to be their Commander; but Col. *Penruddock*, a Gentleman of that Country, appeared most forward in giving out the necessary Orders and Directions. Capt. *Hugh Grove*, and Mr. *Jones* of *Newton*, with several other Gentlemen of those parts, were amongst them. They proclaimed *Charles* the Second to be King of *England*, &c. seized the Judges, and having taken away their Commissions, set them at liberty. They carried the Sheriff Mr. *Dove* away with them to *Dogtown*, to which place they thought fit to retire, apprehending more danger at *Salisbury*, their Forces not at all answering their first Expectations. From thence they marched as far as *Blandford* in *Dorsetshire*, but so few joined them in their way, that at their arrival there they exceeded not the number of two hundred Horse. Most Men looked upon them as flying, divers of their own Party stealing from them as fast as others came to them; and those that staid with them, did so rather to secure themselves, and obtain better Conditions, than from any hopes of succeeding. What they did served only to alarm the Army, some Troops of which pursued them into *Devonshire*, where they were fallen upon by Major *Unton Crook*, and defeated. Divers of them were taken Prisoners, and amongst them Col. *Penruddock*,

ruddock, Mr. *Jones*, and Capt. *Grove*. Major General *Wagstaff*, Mr. *Mompesson*, and several others escaped, and went privately to their own Habitations; but upon Information given that they were concerned in this Plot, they were seized and secured in order to Trial. The Prisoners taken in the Fight pretended Articles for Life from Major *Crook*, alledging that otherwise they would not have delivered themselves on so easy Terms; but the Major absolutely denied any such thing: So that a Commission of Oyer and Terminer was issued for their Trial, and Mr. Attorney General *Prideaux* was sent from *London* to prosecute them. The Chief Justice *Rolls* was nominated in the Commission to be one of their Judges, but he refused to act therein, on account that the Prisoners had done a particular Injury to him in seizing his Person at their first rising, and therefore he thought himself unfit to give his Judgment in their Case, wherein he might be thought a Party concerned. Some of them were condemned at *Salisbury*, and some at *Exeter*, of which number were Col. *Penruddock* and Capt. *Grove*; and in aggravation of their Crimes it was urged, that this was their second Offence of this kind, and that it was committed against much Favour and Kindness, not only in that they had been permitted to compound for their Estates at a reasonable rate, when they had forfeited all, but also that an Act of Oblivion had been granted to them and their whole

Party, whereby they were put into a condition of enjoying the Advantages of all the Victories of thoſe to whom they had been Enemies. To this they anſwered, That they did not riſe againſt thoſe who had extended that Favour to them, but againſt a Perſon who had diſſipated thoſe Men, and eſtabliſhed himſelf in their Place. And I cannot tell by what Laws of God or Man they could have been juſtly condemned, had they been upon as ſure a Foundation in what they declared for, as they were in what they declared againſt. But certainly it can never be eſteemed by a wiſe Man to be worth the ſcratch of a Finger to remove a ſingle Perſon acting by an Arbitrary Power, in order to ſet up another with the ſame unlimited Authority. Col. *Penruddock* and Capt. *Grove* were executed by beheading, according to the Sentence pronounced againſt them; but Mr. *Jones* of *Newton Tony* being allied to *Cromwel*, was pardoned after he had been found guilty by the Jury, and Major *Crook* was ordered to have two hundred Pounds by year out of Mr. *Mompeſſon's* Eſtate for his good Service in the ſuppreſſion of this Party.

The Uſurper was not a little ſtartled at this Inſurrection, ſuſpecting that ſo ſmall a Number would not have appeared without more conſiderable Encouragement; and therefore tho he had lately ſo meanly ſtooped to court the Cavalier Party, and thereby highly provoked his antient Friends to a juſt Jealouſy and Indignation,

dignation, he resolved now to fall upon them, and to break through all their Compositions, even the Act of Oblivion it self, in the obtaining and passing of which he had so great a hand. To this end he commanded a tenth part of their Estates to be levied, in order as he pretended to maintain those extraordinary Forces which their turbulent and seditious Practices obliged him to keep up. In defence of which Oppression I could never yet hear one Argument offered that carried any Weight, either with respect to Justice or Policy: for having by his Treachery and Usurpation disobliged those with whom he first engaged, he seemed to have no other way left to support himself, but by balancing his new with his old Enemies, whom by this fresh Act of Injustice he rendred desperate and irreconcilable, they being not able to call any thing their own, whilst by the same rule that he seized one Tenth, he might also take away the other nine parts at his pleasure. And to put this detestable Project in execution, he divided *England* into Cantons, over each of which he placed a Bashaw under the Title of Major General, who was to have the Inspection and Government of inferiour Commissioners in every County, with Orders to seize the Persons, and distrain the Estates of such as should be refractory, and to put in execution such further Directions as they should receive from him.

In the Army there were not wanting ſome that ſtill retained an Affection to the Cauſe of their Country, which appeared more particularly in a Petition to *Cromwel*, ſigned by many of them, containing things ſo ſutable to the Deſires of honeſt Men, that it proved on that account very unwelcome to the Uſurper. Amongſt others Col. *Okey* endeavoured to perſwade the Officers of his Regiment to ſtand by him in the proſecution of the ends of it, but was interrupted in that Deſign by his Major, for whom he had not without difficulty obtained that Employment. It was alſo pretended, that Major General *Overton*, with ſome Officers of the Army in *Scotland*, deſigned to ſeize upon *Monk*, and to march with that Army to *London* for the Reſtitution of the Parliament: Upon ſuſpicion of which he was ſeized and ſent Priſoner to *London*, where he was committed to the Tower.

About three hundred of the Petition aforeſaid, together with another Writing called *the Memento*, were ſent into *Ireland* in a Box directed to me, and accompanied with a ſhort Letter without any Subſcription. Which Papers, when I had peruſed, and found them to contain ſuch Truths as were very proper to prepare the Minds of Men to imbrace the firſt Opportunity of reſcuing themſelves from the preſent Oppreſſion, I thought it my Duty to procure them to be diſperſed as much to the Advantage of the Publick as I could. Where-

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in I was particularly assisted by Capt. *Walcot*, one of the faithful Officers of my Regiment, and divers others of my Friends. I acquainted Lieutenant Col. *Brayfield* with my Design, and sent some of the Papers to Major *Davis*, who was then at *Dublin*, but resided usually in *Connaught*, thinking him to be a proper Person to be imployed to disperse them in that Province. The said Major *Davis* having received the Papers, came to me, and desired to know if they came from me. I answered him, That tho I wished my Name might have been concealed, yet that Question being put to me, I durst not deny it; and having further informed him of the Reasons which moved me so to do, he declared himself to be fully satisfied with them. But it afterwards appeared, that upon the first receipt of those Papers, he had acquainted Mr. *Roberts*, the Auditor General, therewith, presuming him to be well affected to the Common Cause; which proving otherwise, the said *Roberts* informed Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* of what he knew. The Lieutenant General having also had advice that I had discoursed with Lieutenant Col. *Brayfield* in the Castle-yard, and suspecting it might be upon the same business, sent for Major *Davis* and the said Lieutenant Colonel to examine them, who confessed so much of the Matter as was a ground for him to dispatch a Messenger to me in order to enquire concerning the Truth of it. The Person imployed was one Major *Wallis*, who

who coming to my Houſe at *Moncktown*, informed me, that Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* had received Information, that I had diſperſed ſome of the late Petitions and Memento's. To which I anſwered, that ſeeing the thing which I deſired to carry on privately was not concealed, I ſhould not decline to affirm, that my Conſcience obliged me not to ſmother ſo much Truth as thoſe Papers ſeemed to me to contain. He then told me, that the Lieutenant General deſired to ſpeak with me about that Matter, and I promiſed to attend him the next Morning. Accordingly I went to him, and after ſome Conference concerning the Papers, he produced an Order from *Cromwel* and his Council to this effect; *That whereas I had declared my ſelf diſſatisfied with the preſent Government, he the ſaid Lieutenant General* Fleetwood *was required to take care, that my Charge in the Army might be managed ſome other way.* He added, that he had received the ſaid Order ſome Months ſince, but would not communicate it to me till now, when upon the diſtribution of theſe Papers he durſt not conceal it any longer, leſt he ſhould be accounted a Confederate with me. I replied, that if my Life as well as my Employment had been at ſtake, I durſt not have omitted what I thought to be my Duty in this Particular: That having no Power to diſpute their Pleaſure, I ſhould at preſent look upon it as a Law to which I muſt ſubmit. Some time after Mr. *Benjamin Worſeley* was ſent

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to acquaint me, that Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* had been in expectation of hearing from me touching my ſubmiſſion to the Order he ſhewed me, either by Letter, or the ſurrender of my Commiſſion. I anſwered, that I thought neither of them neceſſary; and hoped that my Retirement into my own Country, which I ſuddenly deſigned, might be ſufficient. But it was determined that I ſhould not ſo eaſily quit the Publick Stage. For the next Morning I was deſired to attend the Lieutenant General, which accordingly I did, and found eight or ten of his Adviſers with him. The Deſign of their Meeting was to perſwade me either to deliver up my Commiſſion, or to engage under my hand, not to act by virtue of it, till I ſhould firſt receive Commiſſion ſo to do from *Cromwel*, or Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*. To the firſt I anſwered, That I durſt not deliver my Commiſſion to any other Power ſave that of the Parliament, who had entruſted me with it; and that it was all I had to juſtify me for doing many things wherein the Lives of Men had been concerned. To the Second I could by no means conſent, becauſe I durſt not tie my own hands from acting by virtue of it, when I ſhould be juſtly called upon ſo to do. Being returned to my Houſe, doubtful what the Event of this Conteſt might be, and deſirous to have good Advice before I proceeded any farther, I ſent to four or five Officers, of whoſe Integrity I had a good Opinion, to ask their

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Judgment in this case. The Result of our Conference was, That I should in a Letter to Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* state the Justice of my Call to the Employment whereof I was possest, and the Conditions on which I received my Commission, being particularly solicited to it by *Cromwel* himself, when he appeared in the shape of a Commonwealths-man: The Authority that gave me my Commission; the present Defection from that Authority and Common Cause, which *Cromwel* as well as I had engaged to maintain; the Duty incumbent upon me to disperse the said Books, because the Substance of my Dissatisfactions was contained in them; withal to declare what I would be satisfied with, if it might be attained; and if that could not be, how far I thought my self obliged to submit. A Letter to this effect being drawn up by me, with the Advice of the Officers above-mentioned, I sent it to the Lieutenant General, and some time after received a Message from him to acquaint me, that according to a late Order brought to him from *England*, I must either deliver my Commission, or be sent Prisoner thither. I told the Messenger, that I could not comply with his Demand, tho I should be sent Prisoner to *Rome*; but that the Commission lay in a Cabinet in my Closet, where he might find it, if he thought fit to break open the door and take it away. But he having no other Orders than to demand the Delivery of my Commission, departed with-

without it. A day or two after Mr. *Miles Corbet* came to my Houſe by order of the Lieutenant General, and ſhewed me the Letter that *Cromwel* had ſent to require him to demand the Surrender of my Commiſſion, and in caſe of refuſal to ſecure my Perſon in *Ireland*, or to ſend me Priſoner to *England*. He uſed what Arguments he could to induce me to a Compliance, which when I had heard, I ſet down in writing my Anſwer, to be delivered to Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, which was in ſubſtance to let him know, That I looked upon my Commiſſion to be of no more danger to them than if it was actually taken from me, and cancelled at the head of the Army, but that I was not willing by a voluntary Submiſſion to own the Juſtice of the preſent Order, becauſe I had received the ſaid Commiſſion from the Parliament to ſerve as an Officer in their Army, in order to the execution of Juſtice upon thoſe who had murdered and oppreſſed the Engliſh Proteſtants; and that I durſt not conſent to be withdrawn from that Duty by any ſave that Authority alone which had placed me in that Station: That if I had received my Commiſſion immediately from the General, I ſhould not willingly return it at his Pleaſure in this Conjuncture, as well in regard to the Duty I owed to the Publick, as to the Army: That it could be eſteemed nothing leſs than a wilful betraying of that Cauſe for which I had contended in conjunction with the Army, if I, who had been ho-

honoured with an Employment in a War raiſed for the Defence of Liberty againſt the Arbitrary Power of a ſingle Perſon, ſhould voluntarily ſubmit to what was propoſed. For ſince the whole Authority in the three Nations was aſſumed by the Army, if I ſhould acknowledg the intire Diſpoſal of all things relating to that Army to reſide in the General, what would this be but to declare my Conſent to give up the Power of the Parliament, Army, and Nation into his hands? However, to avoid Extremities, as far as I was able, I propoſed that if a Council of the Officers who were about *Dublin* might be called, and that upon a full hearing and debate of the Matter they ſhould declare it to be my Duty, I would ſubmit, as to the higher Powers, having none at preſent to appeal to from them but God. This Expedient being not approved, the Lieutenant General ſent Mr. *Miles Corbet* again to me, with a Propoſition, that I would chuſe either to go to *London*, or to be confined in *Ireland*. In anſwer to which, and upon conſideration of the Diſcompoſure of my Affairs in *England*, by reaſon of a great Debt left upon my Eſtate at my departure thence, not likely to be leſſened by my Abſence; and being very deſirous to come to a ſpeedy Trial for my Refuſal to deliver my Commiſſion, I made choice of the former. Mr. *Corbet* then told me, that a Man of War ſhould be prepared for my Tranſportation, provided I would give my word to appear before

before *Cromwel*, and not to act any thing againſt him in the mean time, to which I conſented. For tho I durſt not engage to diſable my ſelf from acting, whilſt nothing was objected againſt me, leſt I ſhould thereby not only have given away my own Liberty, but alſo make an ill Precedent for other Men; yet being now accuſed of a pretended Crime, I was contented to paſs my Parole to appear as deſired, and in the mean time not to act againſt him. When the Lieutenant General perceived that I was reſolved on my Journey, he deſired me to put off my Departure for two Months, pretending that things being in ſome diſorder in *England*, he feared *Cromwel* might apprehend a neceſſity of uſing me with more Severity than he wiſhed; and to ſoften this Delay, gave a Warrant for the paiment of a Sum of Money to me for defraying my Expences whilſt I ſtaid, together with thoſe of my Journey to *London*. And indeed what he ſaid concerning the Diſorders of *England* was not without ground, things running every day more and more into Confuſion, the Cavaliers being enraged to ſee the Throne uſurped, and thoſe who had hazarded all for their Country finding themſelves cheated, Cuſtom and Exciſe raiſed without Authority of Parliament, and Taxes impoſed to no other end than to ſupport the Pride and Inſolence of a ſingle Perſon. Some there were that openly oppoſed theſe Oppreſſions, and amongſt others Mr. *George Cony* a Merchant, who having refuſed

fuſed to pay Cuſtom, it was violently taken from him, and he thereupon ſued the Collector at the Common Law. But *Cromwel* reſolving to put a ſtop to ſuch dangerous Precedents, cauſed the Counſel for Mr. *Cony*, who were Serjeant *Maynard*, Serjeant *Twyſden*, and Mr. *Wadham Windham*, to be ſent to the Tower, where they had not been above three or four days, when they unworthily petitioned to be ſet at liberty, acknowledging their Fault, and promiſing to do ſo no more, chuſing rather to ſacrifice the Cauſe of their Client, wherein that of their Country was alſo eminently concerned, than to endure a little Reſtraint with the loſs of the Fees of a few days. By this means when the Cauſe came to the next hearing, Mr. *Cony* was neceſſitated to plead for himſelf, which he did in as ſhort a manner as he could, referring it wholly to the Judg, whether that Tax being not authorized by Parliament, ought to be paid by the Law of the Land; and declaring that he would abide by his Judgment therein. Serjeant *Rolls*, then Chief Juſtice of the Upper Bench, tho a conſcientious Man, and a Lover of Civil Liberty, yet not daring to determine it for him, ſaid, that ſomething muſt be allowed to Caſes of Neceſſity. To which Mr. *Cony* replied, That it was never wont to be a good Plea in Law, for a Man to make Neceſſities, and then to plead them. But the Judg wanting Courage, would not give Judgment againſt the Uſurper; and

and being too much an honeſt Man to give it for him, he took time till the next enſuing Term, to conſider what Rule he ſhould give in the Caſe. In the mean time, upon conſideration that his Continuance in that Station was like to enſnare him more and more, he deſired by a Letter to *Cromwel* to have his *Quietus*; and Serjeant *Glyn* was appointed to ſucceed him in his Employment, as a fitter Inſtrument to carry on the Deſigns on foot. The new Chief Juſtice, before he came to ſit on the Bench, took care to have this Buſineſs accommodated with *Cony*, who loſt his Reputation by withdrawing himſelf from a Cauſe wherein the Publick was ſo much concerned. Sir *Peter Wentworth*, a Member of the Long Parliament, cauſed alſo a Collector in the Country to be arreſted and proſecuted at his Suit, tho he could hardly procure an Attorney to appear, or Counſel to plead for him. *Cromwel* having received notice of this Proſecution, ſent a Meſſenger with an Order to bring him before the Council; where being examined concerning the Ground of his Proceeding, he told them, that he was moved to it by his conſtant Principle, *That by the Law of* England *no Money ought to be levied upon the People without their Conſent in Parliament*. *Cromwel* then asked him, whether he would withdraw his Action or no? To which he replied, If you will command me, I muſt ſubmit; and thereupon *Cromwel* having commanded it, he withdrew his Action. Some

time after taking the liberty in a Diſcourſe with him to reprove him for that Retractation, he made me this Anſwer, That no Man could have done more than he did to the time of his appearing at the Council, and that if he had then failed in any thing, it muſt be attributed to his Age of threeſcore and three Years, when, ſaid he, the Blood does not run with the ſame Vigour as in younger Men. It having been diſcovered that the Lord *Grey* of *Grooby* had given to a Perſon a Copy of the Memento which I had before diſperſed in *Ireland*, he was ſent for to *London*, and committed Priſoner to *Windſor*-Caſtle for the ſame. The next Term he ſued for a *Habeas Corpus*, which the Chief Juſtice, according to Law, granted him, but the Governour of *Windſor*-Caſtle refuſed to give Obedience to the Order of Court, and ſo rendred it ineffectual to him, inſomuch that he could not obtain his Liberty till he had given a pecuniary Security not to act againſt the Government, which he choſe to do rather than to engage his Parole, thereby hazarding only the Loſs of ſo much Money, and preſerving his Honour and Integrity. Col. *Sexby* was alſo ſuſpected to have had a hand in the diſperſion of the Petitions and Memento's before-mentioned; and thereupon was ſent for in order to be ſecured, which he having notice of, fled, but was purſued ſo cloſe, that his Man was taken with his Portmanteau. *Cromwel* being diſappointed of taking him, pretended on the ac-

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count of antient Friendſhip to paſs by what he had done, and propoſed to imploy him as his Agent to thoſe of *Bourdeaux*, who had applied themſelves for Succour againſt the oppreſſing Miniſtry of *France*. The Colonel being under neceſſity, accepted of the Imployment, and *Cromwel* ordered him a Sum of Money to ſupply his preſent Occaſions, with Letters of Exchange for more at *Bourdeaux*. Being thus furniſhed, he went over to *France*, where his Buſineſs being betrayed to the Magiſtrates of *Bourdeaux*, they gave order to ſeize his Perſon; but he having received advice of their Intentions, made his Eſcape by night over the Wall of the Town, and departed from that Kingdom.

In *Ireland* it was thought fit to disband ſome part of the Army, yet rather to free themſelves of ſome of the diſcontented Party, than that Nation of the Charge. In order to this, a Liſt was produced lately ſent from *England*, appointing what Regiments of Horſe and Foot ſhould be broken. Of theſe mine was to be one, tho care was taken that thoſe of my Regiment, or any other, that would ſail with any Wind, ſhould be provided for; and it muſt be acknowledged, that they were ſo juſt to allow both Officers and Souldiers their full Arrears out of the forfeited Lands in each County, according to the Rates that had been ſet upon them by the General Council of Officers, wherein the Goodneſs and Conveniency of every

County was eſtimated and equally balanced. The Arrears of my Regiment fell by Lot to be ſatisfied in the County of *Wexford*, where I ordered Capt. *Walcot*, my Captain Lieutenant, with my Coronet and Quarter-maſter, to act for me, which they did; and my Proportion in the ſaid Land yielded me about one hundred Pounds the firſt Year, and afterwards near 200. It was reported to be farther improveable; but I never ſaw it, and know not whether I ever ſhall. My Lieutenant Colonel having had his Arrears with the reſt of the Regiment, was accuſed of ſaying that this Diſtribution would prove invalid without an Act of Parliament, and the Crime aggravated by one, who informed at the head Quarters as if he deſigned to excite the Souldiers to a Mutiny; whereupon he was ſent for, and committed to Cuſtody till he gave aſſurance of his quiet and peaceable Behaviour.

The Deſign of ſeizing the Riches of the Spaniards in the *Weſt-Indies* having proved unſucceſsful, and inſtead of bringing Gold or Silver home, much was tranſported from hence thither, where many of our Men daily periſhed through Want and the exceſſive Heats of that Climate; yet it was reſolved to keep *Jamaica*, of which place Col. *Forteſcue* was made Governour, and Commander in chief of the Forces there, after the return of Col. *Venables*. Amongſt others that died, there was one Mr. *Winſlow*, who had been deſigned to be Gover-

nour of ſome Place, when they could get it. In this Expedition one Mr. *Gage* a Prieſt died alſo, who was reported to have been a principal Adviſer of this Undertaking. Col. *Forteſcue* continued not long in his Imployment before he died alſo: After whoſe Death Col. *Edward Doily* was made Commander in chief, and he falling to plant, made a ſhift to get a Subſiſtence, which was but a poor Return for the Expence and Loſs ſuſtained in this Attempt. And as *Cromwel* was thus prodigal of the Lives of Engliſhmen abroad, ſo was he no leſs of our Liberties at home; for not contenting himſelf with the Death of many of thoſe who had raiſed Arms againſt him, and Seizure of the Goods of that Party, he tranſported whole Droves of them at a time into foreign Parts, without any legal Trial. In the number of thoſe that were ſent away was Mr. *William Aſhburnham*, Sir *Tho. Armſtrong* and others, to whom may be added Lieut. Col. *John Lilburn*, who contrary to all Law, and after an Acquittal by a Jury, had been formerly baniſhed. And now to prevent Major General *Overton* from the benefit of a *Habeas Corpus*, for which *Cromwel* was informed he intended to move, tho he had no reaſon to alledg why it ſhould be denied him; yet he ſent him in Cuſtody to *Jerſey* with the hazard of his Life, and to the great Prejudice of his Eſtate. Major *John Wildman* was alſo ſeized upon, and it was pretended that he was taken dictating to his

Servant a Declaration for levying War againſt *Oliver Cromwel*. The Citizens of *London* were made acquainted with it, and the ſaid Major brought to *London* by a Guard of Horſe, and committed Priſoner to the Tower.

Oliver having felt the Pulſe of the Army in *Ireland*, as was obſerv'd before, reſolv'd to ſend his Son *Harry* thither, that being on the Place, he might be the more able to fix the Soldiery to his Intereſt. In his Journy to *Ireland* with his Wife and Family he was every-where careſſed by the Cavalier Party, and particularly entertained by Col. *Moſſon* in *North-Wales*, where the Health of his Father was drunk by the ſaid Colonel. After ſome time ſpent in thoſe Parts he put to Sea, and upon his Arrival in the Bay of *Dublin* the Men of War that accompanied him, and other Ships in the Harbour, rung ſuch a Peal with their Cannon, as if ſome great good News had been coming to us; and tho the uſual place of landing for thoſe who come in Ships of War was near my Houſe, yet he and his Company went up in Boats to the Rings-end, where they went aſhore, and were met there by moſt of the Officers Civil and Military about the Town: The end of his coming over was not at firſt diſcovered, and conjectured to be only to command in the Army as Major General under Lieut. General *Fleetwood*. The two Months agreed on at the deſire of the Lieutenant General for my Stay in *Ireland* being expired, he renewed his Requeſt that

that I would again defer my Journey to *England* for two Months longer, to which I conſented, not doubting that it proceeded from his Friendſhip to me. But the laſt two Months drawing near to an end, I began to prepare for my Journey; which being obſerved, an Order purſuant to Inſtructions from *England* was brought to me by Col. *Thomas Herbert* Secretary of the Council, requiring me to remain in *Ireland*. The Secretary told me that he had it in Commiſſion from Lieut. General *Fleetwood* to acquaint me that upon his own account, and notwithſtanding this Order, he would take upon him to give me permiſſion to go into *England* for ſetling my Affairs there, if I would engage to return within ſix Months, and not act againſt the preſent Government during that time.

Tho I thought my ſelf very ill uſed, not only by being denied the opportunity of coming to a ſpeedy Trial for not delivering my Commiſſion at the Command of the General, but alſo by being prevented to take care of my private Affairs without theſe Fetters; yet I let him know that I would attend the Lieutenant General the next Morning concerning this Matter: Which having done according to my Promiſe, he preſſed me to comply with his Requeſt, with the general Argument of the Duty that lay upon me to ſubmit to the higher Powers. I anſwered, that as I conceived it was yet in diſpute who were theſe higher Powers, whether the

Government of a Common-wealth or that of a ſingle Perſon; that I knew not whether within the time prefixed by him for me to engage not to act, I might have an opportunity ſo to do, and therefore durſt not engage to the contrary. He demanded of me what I judged an opportunity to juſtify me in ſuch an Undertaking? To which I replied, ſuch an appearance of good Men, as might probably balance the Power of the ſingle Perſon: I took the Liberty alſo to tell him, that he himſelf had already juſtified that Principle by his own Practice in acting againſt the King; but, ſaid he, we had the Authority of the Parliament for our Juſtification: But what, ſaid I, have you to countenance you in your Actions now for a ſingle Perſon againſt the Parliament, which I may not have to juſtify me in acting with another Power againſt this ſingle Perſon? and for any thing I know, the ſame Parliamentary Authority that commiſſionated us all to act againſt the King, may within that time authorize me to act againſt the preſent ſingle Perſon. Two or three Conferences and Meſſages paſſed between us upon this buſineſs, the reſult of all which was, that I promiſed to render my ſelf a Priſoner to *Cromwel*, who might farther diſpoſe of me as God ſhould permit him: But this Offer not proving ſatisfactory, the Council ſeconded their former Order, and required me not to go out of *Ireland* without their farther Directions. Finding my ſelf hus ſurrounded,

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and well knowing that this Hardſhip was impoſed upon me by Order from *Whitehal*, and that what the Lieutenant General had propoſed was out of Affection to my Perſon, I thought my ſelf obliged to uſe my utmoſt Endeavours to ſecure him from ſuffering for his Civility and Friendſhip to me: To that end I propoſed that tho I could not engage poſitively not to act during ſix Months, as was deſired, becauſe, whatever Opportunity might be offered, I ſhould then have my Hands tied during the ſaid time; yet I would promiſe not to act within that time againſt the preſent Government, unleſs I had firſt ſurrendred my ſelf to the General, or Lieut. General *Fleetwood*, and deſired of them to be freed from this Engagement. Lieut. General *Fleetwood* conſented to this Propoſition, profeſſing his readineſs to comply with my Deſires in what he could; and accordingly this Agreement being drawn up to our mutual Satisfaction, together with his Permiſſion for my Departure to *England*, was ſigned by him at the Phenix, in the preſence of Mr. *Corbet*, then Chief Baron in that Nation. The next day Col. *Lawrence* came to me, and after ſome Diſcourſe, told me that by reaſon of ſome Oppoſition which the Lieutenant General had met with in my Affair, he had ſent him to deſire of me, that notwithſtanding what had paſſed between us, I would reſpite my Journey for a Fortnight or three Weeks longer, in which time he doubted not to clear my way for me.

I presently suspected from what Corner the Wind blew, but knew not how to help my self for the present. The next Morning Mr. *Corbet* sent me a Message, to desire that I would meet him on the Road betwixt my House and *Dublin*; which having done according to his Appointment, he acquainted me more particularly with what had happened, telling me that Col. *Cromwel* was so enraged at the Form of our Agreement, that he had written to his Father concerning it, in so much that if I should venture to go, he doubted I might be obstructed by the way, which would not only be troublesome to me, but dishonourable to the Lieutenant General. He assured me also that Lieut. General *Fleetwood* would take such care to represent the matter in *England*, that all Obstacles to my Passage might be removed in a short time, and desired of me that I would not have the worse Opinion of him for not performing at present what he had promised. In answer to Mr. *Corbet*, I let him know that I found my self so much disposed to the contrary, that whereas once I thought the Lieutenant General could have done more for me if he would, now I clearly perceived he had done more on my account than he could well answer.

It now began to be publick that Lieut. Gen. *Fleetwood* was suddenly to depart for *England*, tho it was given out that his Business there was only to advise in some particular Affairs,

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and that he ſhould ſpeedily return to *Ireland*. At his Departure he was accompanied by Col. *Cromwel* and his Lady, the Council, the Mayor and Aldermen of *Dublin*, with moſt of the conſiderable Perſons then about the City. They brought him as far as my Houſe, which ſtood near the Place of embarking, where after a ſhort ſtay he went on board, and departed for *England*, leaving with me a Permiſſion to tranſport my ſelf into *England*, which was to take effect about a Month after, requiring all Perſons to permit me to paſs without Interruption. He promiſed me likewiſe that in the mean time he would take care to remove all Difficulties that might hinder me, and that it ſhould be the firſt Buſineſs he would do after his Arrival at *London*.

Some time after I underſtood by a Letter from my Father *Oldſworth*, that Lieut. General *Fleetwood* had aſſured him that I would ſuddenly be in *England*, and that he had left me a Paſsport as ſufficient to that purpoſe as he could give, or I needed; which being ſpoken by him after he had been with his Father *Cromwel*, made me preſume he had cleared the way for me. Having received this Advice, I prepared for my Journey, and waiting on Mr. *Corbet* to take my leave of him, I ſhewed him the Lieut. General's Paſs, and that Clauſe in my Father *Oldſworth*'s Letter which related to it. He told me that Col. *Cromwel* who was then in his Progreſs, had ſent a Meſſage to him that he ſhould acquaint me

me with a ſecond Order lately brought from *England* to require poſitively my Stay in *Ireland*; but withal added, that being unwilling to be imployed in ſuch unwelcome Meſſages to his Friends, he had made his Excuſe to the Colonel by Letter, which he preſumed was accepted by him, becauſe he had heard nothing of it ſince that time, and therefore declared that he mentioned it not to me as a Perſon commiſſioned ſo to do, but only as a Friend. I told him that I ſhould take no notice of it, but procced on my Voyage, as I had before deſigned, having already hired a Veſſel to that end. He then deſired that I would ſtay till the return of Col. *Cromwel*, which would certainly be within two or three days, leſt it ſhould be ſuſpected that he had adviſed with me about my Departure. I being unwilling to bring any Prejudice upon him, conſented to defer my Journey till the return of Col. *Cromwel*, and endeavoured to attend him on the Day of his coming to Town: But he arriving late in the Night, I found my ſelf obliged to go home without ſpeaking to him, by reaſon of a Humour fallen upon one of my Legs, which had been hurt by a Horſe; ſo that I was conſtrained to put my Wife to the trouble of making my excuſe; who acquainting him with my Condition, and ſhewing him the Lieutenant General's Paſs, with the Clauſe in that Letter before mentioned, aſſured him that the Compoſure and Settlement

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of my Eſtate in *England* neceſſarily required my Preſence there. He told her that he knew nothing to hinder my Paſſage, and that a Man of War was ready in the Harbour for our Tranſportation; and deſiring her to dine, promiſed that after Dinner they ſhould go together to *Cork*-houſe, to ſpeak with Mr. *Corbet* her Huſband's old Friend, as he favoured me to call him, and that the work ſhould be done. My Wife accordingly went with him full of Expectation that the Buſineſs ſhe came about would be effected; but after he had conſulted with Mr. *Corbet*, he told her, that tho I had the Lieutenant General's Paſs, yet becauſe he had ſince received a Command for my ſtay, he could not give Order for my Departure: That if ſhe would go, ſhe ſhould have a Ship of War to tranſport her, which ſhe excuſed, unleſs I might have Permiſſion to go alſo. Then ſaid ſhe, tho you will not grant a Warrant for my Husband's going, I hope you will not order his Stay. No indeed, ſaid Col. *Cromwel*, I ſhall not, tho I think it would be much better for him to ſtay; tho what I ſpeak is as a Friend, and not as one in Authority.

Upon conſideration of theſe Particulars: 1*ſt*. That I had the Lieutenant General's Order, who was then the Chief Officer in *Ireland*, together with Mr. *Corbet*'s Advice for my going, who was one of the Council, in caſe I were not ordered to ſtay, and alſo Col. *Cromwel*'s Promiſe, who was Principal in Command upon

upon the Place, that he would not detain me, I resolved to go aboard. And having written a Letter to Col. *Cromwel* to assure him that the end of my going to *England* was to settle my discomposed Family and Estate, I ordered it not to be delivered to him till the next day about Noon, and endeavoured to get on board with my Wife and Servants on that day, but the Wind blowing hard, and the Weather being very bad, no Boat could be procured that would adventure to Sea. At last I prevailed not without difficulty with the Master of one of the largest Herring-Vessels that was in the Bay to carry me and my Family to the Ship which was to transport me, and lay about a League and half from the Shoar. We departed between two and three in the Afternoon, and were accompanied to the Ship by about two hundred People of the Place, so that it could not be justly said, as it was afterwards, that I stole away privately, the Road by which the Vessel must necessarily pass being also within sight of *Dublin*. Being arrived on board the Man of War which lay ready for us, we weighed Anchor about eleven a Clock that Night, and recovered the Harbour of *Beaumaris* by next day at Noon, about which time my Letter to Col. *Cromwel* was according to my Order delivered to him by my Servant. The Weather was so tempestuous, that we durst not adventure to land till the second day after our Arrival, when the Wind somewhat abating,

abating, we went a ſhore, where the Governour of *Beaumaris* met us, and furniſhed us with Horſes to carry us to the Town. We obſerved him to look a little melancholy, yet ſuſpected not the reaſon of it. But after Dinner the Governour as civilly as he could acquainted me, that one Capt. *Shaw* who was then in Town, had brought him an Order from Col. *Henry Cromwel*, and the reſt of the Council in *Ireland*, to detain me there till the Pleaſure of his Father ſhould be known concerning me. I deſired a ſight of the Order, and found it to be directed to the Governour of *Beaumaris*, *Cheſter*, or any other Gariſon, or Commander of any of the Forces, *&c.* and ſigned by *Henry Cromwel*, —— *Pepis*, *Matt. Thomlinſon*, and *Miles Corbet*. Capt. *Shaw* excuſed himſelf for being employed in this Meſſage, and told me, that the day after I left *Ireland*, he being juſt then arrived from *England*, and very weary of his Journey, went to bed, where he had not been above an hour before he was ſent for by Col. *Cromwel*, and told, that being inform'd of my Departure for *England*, which was expreſly againſt an Order receiv'd from his Father, he had immediately ſummoned a Council, where it had been agreed to ſend after me, and to ſecure me whereſoever I ſhould be overtaken, and that he had pitched upon him as a fit Perſon to be imployed in this Buſineſs, and to attend his Father and the Lieutenant General with an account of it. He ſaid he had endeavoured

deavoured to get himself excused, but neither his Weariness by reason of his great Journey, nor any other Arguments would prevail with Col. *Cromwel.* I told him, that those who resolved to worship the Rising Sun, must not refuse to run upon more ungrateful Errands than this, even towards the best of their Friends, and therefore could not suppose that any Respect which he expressed to have for me should prevail to excuse him from this Imployment: However, that I thought Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, whom I knew to be the Person he hoped to advance himself by, would not take it well that he should be instrumental in offering this Affront to his Authority, he being Chief Governour of *Ireland*, and I on my Journey by his Passport and Permission, who I hoped understood his own Power. The Lord *Fitz-Williams*, a civil Person, tho a Papist, and one who had been Lieutenant General to *Preston* when he commanded an Army of Irish Rebels, came over with us from *Ireland*, and being ready to take Horse for *London*, was pleased to give me a Visit before he went, wherein he not only expressed himself very sorry to see me under Restraint, but assured me of his readiness to use his utmost Endeavours with his Highness the Lord Protector, as he thought fit to call him, in my behalf. I gave him my Thanks for his Civility, but thought it a strange Revolution of Affairs, that the Interest of a Gentleman who had been Lieutenant General in the Army

Army of the Iriſh Rebels, ſhould be ſo much greater than mine in the General of the Army of the Commonwealth. Capt. *Shaw* being ready to depart for *London*, and deſiring to know if he could do any Service for me there, I gave him a Letter for Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, which was to let him know what had hapned ſince his Departure, wherein I thought him to be much more concerned than my ſelf; and that being his Priſoner, and coming upon his Permiſſion, the Affront was wholly done to him, tho the ſuffering part fell to my ſhare. In the Evening I was conveyed to a Widow's Houſe in the Town, where I had the Conveniency of a Chamber and Dining-room, with a Sentinel placed at the Stairs-head. With great Impatience I expected the Return of the Poſt from *London*, hoping that the Matter would be ſo repreſented by Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* and Capt. *Shaw*, that I might have my Liberty. But the Uſurper, whoſe Jealouſies increaſed with his Guilt, being informed of my Landing, diſpatched an Order to the Governour of *Beaumaris*, to this effect, *That whereas Lieutenant General* Ludlow *was ſtoln out of* Ireland, *he ſhould take care to keep him in ſtrict and ſafe Cuſtody, and not to permit any to ſpeak with him.* Upon the receipt of this Order, the Governour, reſolving to make his Fortune by any means, propoſed to impriſon me in the Caſtle, the Air of which Place is ſo unhealthy, that the Souldiers dare not lodg there;

and it is obſerved, that few Priſoners who have been confined there have ever recovered from the Diſtempers which they contracted. I told him, that being in his Power, I could not reſiſt; but the Warrant requiring no ſuch thing, a time might come wherein he might be called to account for what he now did. Whereupon he thought fit to let me remain at my Lodgings, but permitted no Man to come to me ſave my own Servants, and of thoſe not above two. One Cauſe of this Severity toward me, as I conjecture, was, that I might not have an Opportunity of ſpeaking with the Officers of the Iriſh Brigade, leſt I ſhould have put them in mind of their Duty, who having ſerved *Cromwel*'s turn in aſſiſting to ſuppreſs the late Attempts againſt him, were now returning for *Ireland*, and lay at *Beaumaris* in expectation of a Wind. Neither did their Cruelty extend only to me; but Col. *Cromwel* having notice that Col. *Kempſtone*, who married my Siſter, had aſſiſted me in my going away, and had not given advice to him of it, committed him to Priſon, where he was uſed with equal Severity as my ſelf, tho he alledged in his juſtification that he knew not, that I was guilty of any Crime, nor that I was forbidden to depart from *Ireland*; and tho he did not know of any Neceſſity I had of a Paſs for my going, yet he well knew that I had one from Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, the Chief Officer of *Ireland*, and that he only accompanied me

to

to the Water-ſide, as a hundred more had done.

To prevent any falſe Repreſentation of the State of my Buſineſs, I gave an account of it to my Friends in *Ireland*, as well as to thoſe in *England*. Some of my Letters were intercepted, and in one of them was found an Expreſſion to this effect: *Tho I know not of any Crime whereof I am guilty, yet I am worſe uſed by thoſe with whom I have engaged, than by thoſe againſt whom I fought; for when I was made Priſoner by the latter, no Perſon was denied the Liberty of coming to me, and I was permitted in publick to give my Reaſons in juſtification of the Proceedings of the Parliament; but the preſent Powers being as it ſeems more conſcious of their own Guilt, will not permit me either to ſee or ſpeak with any of my Friends.* After I had been ſix Weeks a Priſoner, Capt. *Shaw* returned to *Beaumaris* with an Order for my Diſcharge, on condition that I would ſign an Engagement which he brought ready drawn, to oblige my ſelf never to act againſt the preſent Government. He told me, that Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* ſuſpecting my unwillingneſs to ſign any ſuch Paper, had deſired Col. *John Jones* to accompany him to me, and either to perſwade me to ſubſcribe it, or to accommodate the Buſineſs as well as he could. Accordingly Col. *Jones* came to me with Col. *Sadler*, who commanded the Iriſh Brigade before-mentioned, and who had been long in the Town, tho he durſt not come to

me before this time. Upon the perusal of this Engagement, which was proposed as the condition of my Discharge, I soon came to a Resolution, that I would not sign it, if my Life as well as my Liberty had lain at stake; acquainting them with the Reasons of my Refusal, and with the Engagement given to Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, by which I stood obliged to render my self a Prisoner either to *Cromwel* or himself, which I was ready to perform. Col. *Sadler* said, That it was highly reasonable, and as much as could be expected from me; and added, that he was confident the Difference between *Cromwel* and me was grounded upon Mistakes, he having heard him express great Affection to me, with Protestations that he wished me as well as any Man in the three Nations. I thought it not convenient to take much pains to undeceive him, but was rather willing he should believe that he spoke in earnest, tho indeed he loved no Person living any farther than he served to promote his Ambition; for how could it be expected that one who had sacrificed his Conscience and Honour, as well as the Cause of his Country, to the Idol of his Pride, should scruple to trample under foot any Man that stood in his way? One of the Company endeavoured to perswade me to sign the Paper as it was drawn, reserving to my self those Explanations which I had before proposed, or else to look upon my self as free from any Obligation, being under a Force. To

which I answered, That I thought it below a Man to be compelled to any Act against his Conscience, with an intention to violate the same; and that to reserve any Explanations to my self, as it had been against my Practice, so was it contrary to my Principles, unless the Governour would consent to accept my Subscription to the Engagement with such an Explanation as I was willing to make. Thus despairing to obtain the Liberty of pursuing my Journey at that time, I prepared to send my Wife to settle my Affairs as well as she could; and the Company being gone to Dinner, I wrote Letters to my Friends and Relations; when on a sudden Col. *Jones* and Col. *Sadler* came up to tell me that the Governour was willing to discharge me if I would sign the Engagement with such an Explanation as I had proposed. Hereupon I desired the Governour not to do any thing out of respect to me, that might not consist with the Duty of his Place, or prove to be to his Prejudice, my Explanation being in my Opinion an absolute Repeal of the Engagement as soon as I had rendred my self. He replied, he had considered of it, and was willing to accept of it, if I would sign it. Whereupon the Company desired me to draw my own Explanation, which I did to this effect, *viz. I look upon this Engagement now tendred to me for my Subscription by the Governour of* Beaumaris, *by Order from*, &c. *to be no longer of any Force than till I have rendred my self a Prisoner at* White-

hall, *and in that Senſe only I ſubſcribe it.* Having drawn and ſigned two Copies of this Explanation, and procured them to be atteſted by Colonel *John Jones*, Colonel *Sadler*, and Capt. *Shaw*, I delivered one of them to the Governour, and kept the other my ſelf, and then ſigned the Engagement. Capt. *Shaw* informed me that Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* had been much concerned for my Reſtraint, and had expreſſed himſelf highly diſpleaſed with him for undertaking that Imployment; that he had uſed all poſſible Diligence for my Liberty, in which he had met with great Oppoſition; in particular, that Major General *Lambert* had endeavoured to perſwade him that I was of ſuch Principles, and ſuch a Spirit, as not to deſerve my Liberty, tho I cannot remember that our Familiarity had ever been ſo great as to enable him to give a Character of me.

Having thus cleared my way, I departed from *Beaumaris*, and paſſing over *Penman-Maur* I arrived at *Conway* the firſt Night. From thence in two days I reached *Wrexham*, where after we had been treated two or three days by Col. *Jones*, my Coach which I had ſent before from *Ireland* being brought to us, we ſet forward on our Journey for *London*; but the ways being extremely bad, by reaſon of a Froſt which yet was not able to bear the Coach, it was near three a Clock before we came to *Whitchurch*, tho it was not above twelve Miles. But being deſirous to reach *London* if poſſible that Week,

fear-

fearing if *Cromwel* ſhould hear of my being on the Road, he would ſend to ſtop me, we travelled till nine a Clock that Night, and the next after till twelve. The next day we came to *Coventry* about four in the Afternoon, where Col. *Whalley* commanded as Baſhaw, or Major General. After ſome Refreſhment we continued our Journey, and by the help of the Moon-light and the Snow that lay on the Ground we reached *Dunchurch* a little after twelve; there we reſted till about three, and then ſet forward toward *Toceſter*, where we arrived by ſix that Night, and between one and two the next Morning we began our Journey for *London*: But at *Stony-ſtratford* the Coach breaking, my Wife and I, with two or three Servants, took Horſe, and about ſix of the Clock in the Evening of the 10*th* of *December*, one of the ſhorteſt days of the Year, we came to *Weſtminſter*, having travelled fifty Miles that day. The ſame Night I waited on Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, to acknowledg his Care of me, and to acquaint him with the Condition on which I had my Liberty to come up, and with the Explanation upon which only I had ſigned the Engagement propoſed to me, and deſired of him that the whole Matter of Fact might be plainly ſtated to his Father-in-law, and that I might be now accounted free from that Engagement, according to the Explanation. He told me, he was glad to ſee me there, and would take care to acquaint his

Highneſs, as he called him, with what I had ſaid, and to repreſent it as much as might be to my advantage. The next Wedneſday after my Arrival about eight in the Evening, *Cromwel* ſent a Gentleman, one Mr. *Fenwick*, to let me know that he would ſpeak with me. I found him in his Bed-chamber at *Whitehall*, and with him Major General *Lambert*, Col. *Sydenham*, Mr. *Walter Strickland*, Col *Montague*, and ſoon after came in Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*. The firſt Salute I received from him was to tell me, that I had not dealt fairly with him in making him to believe I had ſigned an Engagement not to act againſt him, and yet reſerving an Explanation whereby I made void that Engagement; which if it had not been made known to him, he might have relied upon my Promiſe, and ſo have been engaged in Blood before he was aware. I told him, I knew not why he ſhould look upon me to be ſo conſiderable; neither could I apprehend how it had been poſſible for me to deal more fairly and openly with him than I had done: For I had told his Governour at *Beaumaris*, that if my Life as well as my Liberty had been at ſtake, I could not ſign the Engagement ſimply, and therefore had reſolved to continue there, had not the Governour himſelf expreſſed a Deſire to accept of my Subſcription with that Explanation. And becauſe I accounted it to be in effect a Repeal of the Engagement, I had told him ſo, and deſired him to do nothing out of reſpect

ſpect to me that conſiſted not with his Duty; notwithſtanding which the Governour told me, he was free to accept my Subſcription, ſo that I knew not but he might have received Inſtructions ſo to do. No, ſaid *Cromwel*, he had none from me. That was more, ſaid I, than I knew; and if you had not notice as well of the one as the other, it was not my Fault, for I had acquainted you with neither; and thoſe who informed you of the one, I preſumed had made you acquainted with the other alſo. He then objected to me, that I was ſtolen from *Ireland* without leave: To which I made anſwer, That tho I knew no Cauſe why I ſhould either be detained in *Ireland*, or obliged to ask leave to depart, yet to avoid all pretence of Exception againſt me, I had taken care to procure even that too, as far as it was poſſible, having a Paſſport for *England* from Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, the Chief Officer of *Ireland*, with the Advice of Mr. *Corbet*, one of his Council, for my coming, and his Son *Harry*'s Promiſe not to obſtruct me in my Journey. He next asked me, wherefore I would not engage not to act againſt the preſent Government, telling me, that if *Nero* were in Power, it would be my Duty to ſubmit. To which I replied, that I was ready to ſubmit, and could truly ſay, that I knew not of any Deſign againſt him. But, ſaid I, if Providence open a way, and give an Opportunity of appearing in behalf of the People, I cannot conſent to tie my own Hands before-

fore-hand, and oblige my ſelf not to lay hold on it. However, ſaid he, it is not reaſonable to ſuffer one that I diſtruſt to come within my Houſe, till he aſſure me he will do me no Miſchief: I told him, I was not accuſtomed to go to any Houſe unleſs I expected to be welcome; neither had I come hither but upon a Meſſage from him, and that I deſired nothing but a little Liberty to breathe in the Air, to which I conceived I had an equal Right with other Men. He then fell to inveigh bitterly againſt Major *Wildman*, as the Author of the Petition from the Army before-mentioned, reviling him with unhandſom Language, and ſaying, he deſerved to be hanged; and that he muſt ſecure me alſo, if I would not oblige my ſelf never to act againſt him. I told him I had gone as far as I could in that Engagement which I had given to Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*; and if that were not thought ſufficient, I reſolved with God's Aſſiſtance to ſuffer any Extremities that might be impoſed upon me. Yes, ſaid he, we know your Reſolution well enough, and we have cauſe to be as ſtout as you; but I pray who ſpoke of your Suffering? Sir, ſaid I, if I am not deceived, you mentioned the ſecuring my Perſon. Yea, ſaid he, and great Reaſon there is why we ſhould do ſo; for I am aſhamed to ſee that Engagement which you have given to the Lieutenant General, which would be more fit for a General who ſhould be taken Priſoner, and that hath yet an Army of thirty thouſand

Men

Men in the Field, than for one in your condition. I answered, that it was as much as I could consent to give, and what Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* thought fit to accept. Then beginning to carry himself more calmly, he said that he had been always ready to do me what good Offices he could, and that he wished me as well as he did any one of his Council, desiring me to make choice of some Place to be in, where I might have good Air. I assured him, that my Dissatisfactions were not grounded upon any Animosity against his Person; and that if my own Father were alive, and in his Place, they would, I doubted not, be altogether as great. He acknowledged that I had always carried my self fairly and openly to him, and protested that he had never given me just Cause to act otherwise.

When *Cromwel* had finished his Discourse, some of those who were present began to make their Observations, and in particular Col. *Montague* thought it worthy his notice, that I had intimated, *if Providence should offer an Occasion, I was ready to act against the present Government*; but the rest of the Company seemed ashamed of what he said. Major General *Lambert* then desired to know from me why I could not own this as a lawful Government: Because, said I, it seems to me to be in substance a Re-establishment of that which we all engaged against, and had with a great Expence of Blood and Treasure abolished. What then, said he, would

you

you account to be a ſufficient Warrant for you to act againſt the preſent Authority? I anſwered, When I might rationally hope to be ſupported by an Authority equal or ſuperiour to this, and could be perſwaded that the ſaid Authority would employ its Power for the Good of Mankind. But who ſhall be Judg of that, ſaid he? for all are ready to ſay they do ſo, and we our ſelves think we uſe the beſt of our Endeavours to that end. I replied, that if they did ſo, their Crime was the leſs, becauſe every Man ſtands obliged to govern himſelf by the Light of his own Reaſon, which Rule, with the Aſſiſtance of God, I was determined to obſerve. Col. *Sydenham* ſaid, we might be miſtaken in judging that to be a Power giving us a juſt and rational Call to act, which may not be ſo. I told him, that we ought to be very careful and circumſpect in that Particular, and at leaſt be aſſured of very probable Grounds to believe the Power under which we engage to be ſufficiently able to protect us in our Undertaking; otherwiſe I ſhould account my ſelf not only guilty of my own Blood, but alſo in ſome meaſure of the Ruin and Deſtruction of all thoſe that I ſhould induce to engage with me, tho the Cauſe were never ſo juſt.

This Diſcourſe being ended, I was deſired to withdraw into the next room, where Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* came to me, and laboured to perſwade me to engage, as was deſired, tho but for a Week. I made anſwer,

that

that I was not willing to do it for an Hour; then, ſaid he, you ſhall engage to me. I told him I looked upon my ſelf already obliged by the Conditions of my late Engagement, farther than which I could not go; and thereupon returned to my Lodging, in order to imploy my leiſure about my private Affairs during that time.

The Deſign againſt the Spaniards in the *Weſt-Indies* having been, as was before related, unſucceſsful, it was reſolved to ſend three thouſand Men from *Scotland* and *Ireland* to reinforce the Party in *Jamaica*, which from twelve thouſand Men was now reduced to little more than three thouſand. The Officers of this Reinforcement were to be of ſuch as were accounted diſſatisfied with the preſent Poſture of Affairs, and therefore thought unfit to remain here. Amongſt the Officers of the Scots Regiment was a Lieutenant Colonel, I think it was Lieut. Col. *Brain*, who ſome time before had been caſhiered for his Affection to the Commonwealth, which was now eſteemed the Common Enemy. But not having gained by his faithful Services any competent Subſiſtence, as mercenary Officers generally know how to do, he was driven to the neceſſity of accepting the Command of that Regiment.

According to their Inſtructions they ſet ſail for the Place of Rendezvouz, where they were to meet thoſe Forces that were ordered to join them

them from *Ireland*. But a violent Storm arising in their Paſſage, this Colonel, with about three hundred Men, was caſt away, the reſt being driven on the Coaſt of *Ireland*.

Great Endeavours were uſed in *Ireland* to perſwade Lieut. Col. *Walker*, an honeſt Man and a good Officer, to undertake the Command of thoſe Forces that were ordered to be ſent from thence; but he perceiving the Deſign, and being throughly ſenſible that this Offer was not made to him from any Affection to his Perſon, or ſenſe of his Services, refuſed to bite at the Bait, tho it was gilded as much as might be, by advancing a conſiderable Sum, and ſatisfying the Arrears of thoſe that went, out of the forfeited Lands in ſuch places as they ſhould chuſe. Upon his refuſal, Major *Moor* accepted the Imployment with the title of Colonel; but on condition that after he had conducted the Men to *Jamaica*, he ſhould have liberty to return, which he did after many Difficulties and Hazards of his Perſon. Capt. *Cheſter*, a ſtout Man, and one who at a General Council of Officers had openly expreſſed his Diſcontent againſt the Uſurpation, was alſo perſwaded to engage in this Service, and loſt his Life in the Expedition.

Cromwel perceiving he could not compaſs his Deſigns againſt *Spain* by his own Power, entred into an Alliance with the French, who by the Treaty with him obliged themſelves not to permit the Sons of the late King to remain in any

any part of *France*; which Article was punctually performed. For such is the Mystery, or rather Knavery of those Governments that are framed to support an Arbitrary Power, that they will not scruple to sacrifice the best Friends and neareſt Relations when they stand in the way of their Designs. This Confederacy was dearly purchased on our part; for by it the Balance of the two Crowns of *Spain* and *France* was destroyed, and a Foundation laid for the future Greatness of the French, to the unspeakable Prejudice of all *Europe* in general, and of this Nation in particular, whose Interest it had been to that time accounted to maintain that Equality as near as might be.

In the mean time the Major Generals carried things with unheard of Insolence in their several Precincts, Decimating to extremity whom they pleased, and interrupting the Proceedings at Law upon Petitions of those who pretended themselves aggrieved; threatning such as would not yield a ready Submission to their Orders, with Transportation to *Jamaica* or some other Plantations in the *West-Indies*; and suffering none to escape their Persecution, but those that would betray their own Party, by discovering the Persons that had acted with them or for them. And here I cannot omit to mention a Farmer in *Barkshire*, who being demanded to pay his Tenth, desired to know of the Commissioners, in case he did so, what Security he should have for the other nine parts:

and

and anſwer being made that he ſhould have *Cromwel*'s Order and theirs for the Enjoyment of the reſt; he replied, that he had already an Act of Parliament for the whole, which he could not but think to be as good Security as they could give. But, ſaid he, if Goodman ſuch a one, and another whom he named of his Neighbours, will give me their Bond for it, I know what to ſay to ſuch a Propoſal; for if they break their Agreement, I know where to right my ſelf; but theſe Swordmen are too ſtrong for me.

A Squadron of our Ships cruizing off the Coaſt of *Spain*, met with and fought 5 Ships returning thither from the *Weſt Indies*, which had on board a Spaniſh Marquiſs, who with his Family and great Wealth acquired in his Government there, was coming back to *Spain*. The Spaniards defended themſelves as well as they could; but the Marquiſs thinking it impoſſible to eſcape, ſet fire to the Ship wherein he was, and with moſt of his Family was burnt in her. Of the other four one was ſunk in the Fight, another made her eſcape, and two were taken, on board of one of which was the Son of the ſaid Marquiſs. It was reported that in the two Ships taken there was found about three Millions in Bullion, which was brought in triumph by Carts from *Portſmouth* to *London*, in order to be coined at the Tower.

The Siege of *Dunkirk* being undertaken by the French, their Confederate *Cromwel* ſent a Body

Body of Men, in number about ſix thouſand, for the moſt part Foot, to their Aſſiſtance. The Cavalier Party under the Duke of *York* joined themſelves to the Spaniards, who endeavoured with an Army to relieve the Place; and having ſent a Party to poſſeſs themſelves of a Sand-Hill, ſo galled the Engliſh from thence, that they reſolved, if poſſible, to remove them from that Poſt. The Ground was ſo deep and looſe, that they could not without extreme difficulty march up the Hill; yet at laſt they effected it, and having put the Spaniards to flight, purſued them to their main Body: But having engaged themſelves too far, and being over-powered by great numbers of Horſe and Foot, (the French leaving the whole ſtreſs of the Fight upon them) they were in danger of being entirely cut off; which being perceived by Major General *Drummond* a Scots Officer, who ſerved with the Engliſh as a Volunteer, he rode up to the French Horſe, and by reproaching them with Treachery and Negligence, procured a Party of Horſe to be ſent to their Succour. Upon the arrival of this ſeaſonable Relief, the Engliſh took freſh Courage, renewed their Attack, and killed a great number of the Enemy; many of thoſe that were killed on the Enemies ſide were Engliſh and Iriſh, that fought under the Duke of *York*. And as it was confeſſed by all preſent, that the Engliſh who took part with the French, behaved themſelves with more Bravery than any in

the Field that day; so it was observed that those of the Cavalier Party, who had joined with the Spaniards, behaved themselves worst. Soon after this Battle the Town of *Dunkirk* was surrendred to the French, and delivered into the hands of the English, as it had been agreed between *Cromwel* and Cardinal *Mazarine*.

It being thought fit to fortify divers Places of Importance in *Scotland*, *Cromwel* appointed a considerable Sum of Money to be expended on the Works of *Ayre*, *Dundee*, *Leith*, *St. Johns-town*, *Sterling*, &c. and had so balanced the several Interests in his Councils there, that tho *Monk* generally favoured the more loose and vitious Party amongst the Scots, yet there were not wanting some who supported an honester sort of Men, that were not willing to permit their King to return without Conditions. The Lord *Broghil* had been of great use to moderate these two Parties; but being much afflicted with the Gout, and the Air of *Scotland* not agreeing with his distemper'd Body, he desired *Cromwel* to grant him leave to return to *Ireland* according to his Promise, the Year of his Residence in *Scotland* being now expired. *Cromwel* not willing to comply with his Desires in this particular, dispatched Instructions to his Son *Henry* in *Ireland* by all means to procure a Petition from the discontented Party, against the Lord *Broghil*'s return thither. To this end Sir *Hardress Waller* sus-

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pecting that the Preſence of this Lord might eclipſe his Greatneſs, became an earneſt Solicitor to Adjutant General *Allen*, and Quartermaſter General *Vernon*, to join in a Petition to that effect. But they perceiving the Deſign, not only refuſed ſo to do, but plainly told him that they were ready to join in a Petition for his coming, it being impoſſible to be worſe with them than now it was. This Diſcourſe being reported to Col. *Henry Cromwel* with an Inſinuation, that it was to be ſuſpected that there was ſome Deſign carrying on by the Lord *Broghil* and the diſſatisfied Party in *Ireland*, he ſent an account of it to his Father, and deſired that he would not by any means permit him to return thither.

Divers Conſpiracies that had been formed againſt the Government of the Uſurper being already defeated, and the Authors of them for the moſt part puniſhed, he was prevailed with to permit Major General *Harriſon* and Mr. *Carew*, whom he had ſent to remote Confinements, to be Priſoners at their own Habitations; and accordingly he ordered Major *Strange* to go to *Carisbrook* Caſtle, and to bring the Major General from thence to his Houſe at *Highgate*: where when I was acquainted with his arrival, I went to make him a Viſit, and having told him that I was very deſirous to be informed by him of the Reaſons that moved him to join with *Cromwel* in the Interruption of the Civil Authority; he anſwered that he had

done it, becauſe he was fully perſwaded they had not a heart to do any more good for the Lord and his People. Then, ſaid I, are you not now convinced of your Error, in entertaining ſuch Thoughts, eſpecially ſince it has been ſeen what uſe has been made of the uſurped Power? To which he replied, Upon their Heads be the Guilt, who have made a wrong uſe of it; for my own part, my Heart was upright and ſincere in the thing. I anſwered, that I conceived it not to be ſufficient in matters of ſo great Importance to Mankind, to have only good Intentions and Deſigns, unleſs there be alſo probable means of attaining thoſe Ends by the Methods we enter upon; and tho' it ſhould be granted that the Parliament was not inclined to make ſo full a Reformation of things amiſs as might be deſired, yet I could not doubt that they would have done as much good for us, as the Nation was fitted to receive; and therefore that extraordinary Means ought not to have been uſed, till it had been clearly evident that the ordinary had failed, eſpecially ſince it could not but be manifeſt to every Man, who obſerved the ſtate of our Affairs, that upon the ſuppreſſion of the Civil Authority, the Power would immediately devolve upon that Perſon who had the greateſt Intereſt in the Army. His ſecond Reaſon for joining with *Cromwel* was, becauſe he pretended to own and favour a ſort of Men, who acted upon higher Principles than thoſe of Civil Liberty. I re-

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plied, that I thought him mistaken in that also, since it had not appeared that he ever approved of any Persons or things farther than he might make them subservient to his own ambitious Designs; reminding him that the generality of the People that had engag'd with us having acted upon no higher Principles than those of Civil Liberty, and that they might be governed by their own Consent, it could not be just to treat them in another manner upon any pretences whatsoever. The Major General then cited a Passage of the Prophet *Daniel*, where 'tis said, *That the Saints shall take the Kingdom and possess it.* To which he added another to the same effect, *That the Kingdom shall not be left to another People.* I answered, that the same Prophet says in another Place, *That the Kingdom shall be given to the People of the Saints of the most High.* And that I conceived, if they should presume to take it before it was given, they would at the best be guilty of doing evil, that good might come from it: For to deprive those of their Right in the Government, who had contended for it equally with our selves, were to do as we would not that others should do to us: That such Proceedings are not only unjust, but also impracticable, at least for the present; because we cannot perceive that the Saints are clothed with such a Spirit, as those are required to be to whom the Kingdom is promised; and therefore we may easily be deceived in judging who are fit for Govern-

ment, for many have taken upon them the Form of Saintſhip, that they might be admitted to it, who yet have not acted ſutably to their Pretenſions in the ſight of God or Men: for proof of which we need go no further than to thoſe very Perſons who had drawn him to aſſiſt them in their Deſign of exalting themſelves, under the ſpecious Pretence of advancing the Kingdom of Chriſt. He confeſſed himſelf not able to anſwer the Arguments I had uſed; yet ſaid, he was not convinced that the Texts of Scripture quoted by him were not to be interpreted in the Senſe he had taken them, and therefore deſired a farther Conference with me at another time, when each of us might be accompanied with ſome Friends to aſſiſt us in the clearing of this Matter. I conſented to his Propoſal, and ſo we parted; but from that time forward we had not an opportunity to diſcourſe farther upon this Subject.

About the ſame time Mr. *Peters*, who ſtill kept fair with thoſe at *Whitehall*, made me a Viſit; and in our Converſation about the Publick Affairs I freely told him my Opinion concerning the Actions of *Cromwel*, endeavouring to make him ſenſible not only of his Injuſtice, but great Imprudence, thus to ſacrifice the Common Cauſe to his Ambition, and by every ſtep he had lately taken to ſtrengthen the hands of the Common Enemy, whereby he would undoubtedly open a way for the Return of the Family of the late King, who would not fail

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to do all that Revenge could inſpire them with: Whereas if he had made uſe of his Power to eſtabliſh the juſt Liberties of the Nation, or could yet be perſwaded ſo to do, he might live more honoured and eſteemed, have the Pleaſure and Satisfaction ariſing from ſo generous an Action, when he died, and leave his own Family, together with the whole Body of the People, in a moſt happy and flouriſhing Condition. He confeſſed that what I had ſaid was moſt true, but added, that there was not a Man about him who had Courage enough to tell him ſo: That for his part he had obſerved him immediately after the Victory at *Worceſter* to be ſo elevated, that he then began to fear what was ſince come to paſs; and that he told a Friend with whom he then quartered in his return to *London*, that he was inclined to believe *Cromwel* would endeavour to make himſelf King.

The Uſurper having governed as he thought long enough by virtue of the Inſtrument of Government, which tho drawn up by himſelf and his Creatures, was now thought to lay too great a Reſtraint upon his ambitious Spirit; and reſolving to reſt ſatisfied with nothing leſs than the Succeſſion of his Family to the Crown, he attempted to make himſelf King. To this end he thought it neceſſary to call a Parliament; and that he might engage the Army to aſſiſt him in all Parts to procure ſuch Men to be choſen as would be fit for his purpoſe, he pretended

that this Assembly was called only in order to raise Money for the Paiment of the Army and Fleet, to confirm the Authority of the Major Generals, and that of the Instrument of Government. By this means he obtained his Desires in a great measure, especially in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, where all kinds of Artifice, and in many Places the most irregular Courses, were taken to get such Men returned as were proposed by the Court. But knowing the People of *England* not to be of so mercenary a Spirit; and that as they were better instructed in the Principles of Civil Liberty, so they were not wanting in Courage to assert it, he used his utmost Endeavours to disable and incapacitate such Men from being chosen, whom he thought most likely to obstruct his Designs. In order to this he summoned the Lord President *Bradshaw*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Col. *Rich*, and my self, to appear before him in Council: Which we all did except Sir *Henry Vane*, who told the Messenger he should be at his House at *Charing-Cross* on a certain day. *Cromwel*, as soon as he saw the Lord President, required him to take out a new Commission for his Office of Chief Justice of *Chester*, which he refused, alledging that he held that Place by a Grant from the Parliament of *England* to continue *quamdiu se bene gesserit*. And whether he had carried himself with that Integrity which his Commission exacted from him, he was ready to submit to a Trial by twelve English Men, to be chosen

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even by *Cromwel* himſelf. Col. *Rich* being preſſed to give Security not to act againſt the Government, and refuſing ſo to do, was ſent Priſoner to *Windſor*-Caſtle. Then I drew near to the Council-Table, where *Cromwel* charged me with diſperſing treaſonable Books in *Ireland*, and with endeavouring to render the Officers of the Army diſaffected, by diſcourſing to them concerning new Models of Government. I acknowledged that I had cauſed ſome Papers to be diſperſed in *Ireland*, but denied that they juſtly could be called Treaſonable. And tho I knew not that it was a Crime to debate of the ſeveral Forms of Government, yet that I had not done any thing of that nature lately to the beſt of my remembrance. He then ſaid, that he was not ignorant of the many Plots that were on foot to diſturb the preſent Power, and that he thought it his Duty to ſecure ſuch as he ſuſpected. To this I replied, that there were two Duties required by God of the Magiſtrate, *i. e.* that he be a Terror to thoſe that do evil, and a Praiſe to ſuch as do well; and whether my Actions were good or bad, I was ready to ſubmit to a legal Trial: That I was ignorant of any other way to ſecure the Magiſtrate from being afraid of the People, or the People from the Dread of the Magiſtrate, unleſs both will do that which is juſt and good. You do well, ſaid he, to reflect on our Fears; yet I would have you know, that what I do, proceeds not from any Motive of Fear, but from a timely Pru-

Prudence to foreſee and prevent Danger: That had I done as I ſhould, I ought to have ſecured you immediately upon your coming into *England*, or at leaſt when you deſired to be freed from the Engagement you had given after your arrival; and therefore I now require you to give aſſurance not to act againſt the Government. I deſired to be excuſed in that Particular, reminding him of the Reaſons I had formerly given him for my Refuſal, adding, that I was in his Power, and that he might uſe me as he thought fit. Pray then, ſaid he, what is it that you would have? May not every Man be as good as he will? What can you deſire more than you have? It were eaſy, ſaid I, to tell what we would have. What is that, I pray, ſaid he? That which we fought for, ſaid I, that the Nation might be governed by its own Conſent. I am, ſaid he, as much for a Government by Conſent as any Man; but where ſhall we find that Conſent? Amongſt the Prelatical, Presbyterian, Independent, Anabaptiſt, or Leveling Parties? I anſwered, amongſt thoſe of all ſorts who had acted with Fidelity and Affection to the Publick. Then he fell into the Commendation of his own Government, boaſting of the Protection and Quiet which the People enjoyed under it, ſaying, that he was reſolved to keep the Nation from being imbrued in Blood. I ſaid, that I was of opinion too much Blood had been already ſhed, unleſs there were a better account of it. You do well,

well, said he, to charge us with the Guilt of Blood; but we think there is a good Return for what hath been shed; and we understand what clandestine Correspondences are carrying on at this time between the Spaniard and those of your Party, who make use of your Name, and affirm that you will own them and assist them. I know not, said I, what you mean by my Party, and can truly say, that if any Men have entred into an Engagement with *Spain*, they have had no Advice from me so to do, and that if they will use my Name I cannot help it. Then in a softer way he told me, that he desired not to put any more Hardships on me than on himself; that he had been always ready to do me all the good Offices that lay in his Power, and that he aimed at nothing by this Proceeding but the Publick Quiet and Security. Truly Sir, said I, I know not why you should be an Enemy to me who have been faithful to you in all your Difficulties. I understand not, said he, what you mean by my Difficulties. I am sure they were not so properly mine as those of the Publick; for in respect to my outward Condition I have not much improved it, as these Gentlemen, pointing to his Council, well know. To which they seemed to assent, by rising from their Chairs; and therefore I thought not fit to insist farther on that Point, contenting my self to say, that it was from that Duty which I owed to the Publick, whereof he expressed such a peculiar Regard, that I durst

durſt not give the Security he deſired, becauſe I conceived it to be againſt the Liberty of the People, and contrary to the known Law of *England*. For proof of this I produced an Act of Parliament for reſtraining the Council-Table from impriſoning any of the free-born People of *England*; and in caſe they ſhould do ſo, requiring the Juſtices of the Upper Bench, upon the Application of the aggrieved Party, to grant his *Habeas Corpus*, and to give him conſiderable Damages. To this Act I ſuppoſed he gave his free Vote, aſſuring him, that for my own part I durſt not do any thing that ſhould tend to the violation of it. But, ſaid he, did not the Army and Council of State commit Perſons to Priſon? I anſwered, that the Council of State did ſo, but it was by virtue of an Authority granted to them by the Parliament; and if the Army had ſometimes acted in that manner, it had been in time of War, and then only in order to bring the Perſons ſecured to a legal Trial; whereas it is now pretended that we live in a time of Peace, and are to be governed by the known Laws of the Land. A Juſtice of Peace, ſaid he, may commit, and ſhall not I? He is, ſaid I, a legal Officer, and authorized by the Law to do ſo, which you could not be, tho you were King; becauſe if you do wrong therein, no Remedy can be had againſt you. Therefore if I have offended againſt the Law, I deſire to be referred to a Juſtice of the Peace, that I may be proceeded

ceeded with according to Law; but if I have done nothing to deserve a Restraint, that then I may have my Liberty. Whereupon being commanded to withdraw into a Room next to the Council-Chamber, I heard Major General *Lambert* to advise that I might be peremptorily required to give the Security demanded. But *Cromwel* said, that the Air of *Ireland* was good, that I had a House there, and therefore he thought it best to send me thither. Immediately after Mr. *Scobel*, one of the Clerks of the Council, came to me, and acquainted me, that I might return to my Lodging; where I had not been a quarter of an hour before Mr. *Strickland*, one of the Council, came to me, and pressed me earnestly to comply: But I told him, that having contended for the Liberty of others, I was not willing to give away my own, and to be made a Precedent to the prejudice of my Country-men, because it was the Pleasure of those that had the Sword to have it so. Why, said he, was it not the Sword by which you kept *Warder*-Castle, and by which you acted during the whole Course of the late War? I had, said I, the Authority of the Parliament to justify me in so doing. He answered, but they governed by the Sword. To which I replied, that indeed they made use of the Sword to remove the Obstructions that were in the way of the Civil Government, and exercised that Power to vindicate and establish the Law of the Land; and that I was heartily

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ſorry to ſee one who had been ſo forward in the Cauſe of the Publick, not to diſcern any Difference between a Sword in the hands of a Parliament to reſtore the People to their antient Rights, and a Sword in the hands of a Tyrant to rob and deſpoil them thereof. Here our Diſcourſe was interrupted by a Meſſenger who came from the Council with an Order from them, to require me to give the Security of five thouſand Pounds within three days after the Date of the Order, not to do any thing prejudicial to the preſent Government; and in caſe of failure, to be taken into Cuſtody. Upon the receipt of it I told the Meſſenger, that having no Power to reſiſt, I muſt ſubmit to their Pleaſure. A day or two after the expiration of the Time limited by the Order for giving the demanded Security, which I had not done, Serjeant *Dendy* came to me with another from the Council, ſigned by *Henry Lawrence* Preſident, requiring and authorizing him to take me into Cuſtody. Having ſhewn me the Order, he deſired me to make choice of a Chamber; but after ſome Diſcourſe with my near Relations, who were then preſent, he was contented to let me remain at my Lodgings. So having promiſed to return in a day or two, and in the mean time to adviſe with Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, he went away. The next day *Cromwel* diverting himſelf with Hunting at *Hampton-Court*, asked my Brother *Thomas Ludlow*, who was in the Company, if he were not angry

angry with him for committing me? And my Brother anſwering, that it was not fit for him to judg concerning his Actions: he thereupon aſſured him, that he wiſhed me as well as any of his own Children: That his deſiring me to give Security for my Carriage to the Government, was deſigned by him as well for my Good as for his own Security, and that he would have him to engage for me; to which he moſt readily conſented. The Morning following my Brother came to me, and having acquainted me with what had paſſed between *Cromwel* and himſelf, I gave him Thanks for his kind Offer, but withal told him, that I would by no means deſire that of him which I was not willing to do my ſelf. Beſides I told him, that ſhould it be granted that the thing were fit for him to do, yet it might prove a Snare to him, and lay an Obligation upon him to gratify the Uſurper in another way. However after this Diſcourſe of *Cromwel* to my Brother, and the Conference of my Relations with Serjeant *Dendy*, I ventured to accompany my Father and Mother *Oldſworth*, with my Wife, into *Eſſex*, where we ſpent the remaining part of that Summer. My ſtay there did in ſome meaſure anſwer the Deſign of *Cromwel*, which was to keep me out of my own Country, where he doubted I might obſtruct the Election of ſuch Perſons as the Court had reſolved by all Methods to procure to be returned. But there was no need to fear my intermedling in

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that Particular, at such a time; and if I had, it should have been only to give a publick Testimony against any Election at all, the Long Parliament being still in being, tho under a present Force. Besides, it was manifest that the designed Assembly was to be called for no other end than to strengthen the Sword, and to advance the corrupt Interest of him that called them together; and if it should happen that they had either the Courage or Honesty to attempt any thing for the Service of the Publick, I was assured their Endeavours would be rendred fruitless by a sudden Dissipation.

Sir *Henry Vane*, according to his Promise, being come to his House near *Charing-Cross*, the Council sent a Messenger thither to require him to attend them, which he did, and was there charged by *Cromwel* with Disaffection to the Government, which he had demonstrated by a late Writing published by him, with a seditious Intention. The Paper was called *a healing Question proposed and resolved*, and contained the State of our Controversy with the King, the present Deviation from that Cause for which we engaged, and the Means to unite all Parties in attaining the accomplishment of it. It was written upon an Invitation given in a Declaration published by *Cromwel* for a General Fast, wherein it was desired that the People would apply themselves to the Lord to discover that *Achan* which had so long obstructed the Settlement of these distracted Nations. When it was

was finiſhed, he ſhewed it to Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, who ſeeming to approve it, deſired to take it with him, and promiſed to communicate it to *Cromwel*, upon the firſt Opportunity that ſhould be offered. Sir *Henry* did not diſown either his Diſſatisfaction with the preſent State of Affairs, or the Publication of the Diſcourſe before-mentioned. So that *Cromwel* thought fit to require him, by a day limited, to give Security not to act againſt him. Which time being expired, he appeared again before the Council, and delivered into *Cromwel*'s own hand another Paper, containing the Reaſons of his diſapproving the preſent Uſurpation, and a friendly Advice to him to return to his Duty, with ſome Juſtification of his own Conduct with relation to the Publick. But notwithſtanding all this, and divers Reaſons alledged by him to excuſe himſelf from giving the demanded Security, he was ſent Priſoner to *Carisbrook*-Caſtle in the *Iſle of Wight*. The Preſident *Bradſhaw*, notwithſtanding what had paſſed, reſolved to go his Circuit as Chief Juſtice of *Cheſter*, unleſs he ſhould be prevented by Force. But it was thought more adviſable to permit him to execute his Office, than by putting a ſtop to his Circuit, to make a Breach with thoſe of the Long Robe, whoſe Aſſiſtance was ſo neceſſary to the carrying on of *Cromwel*'s Deſign. Yet that neither he, nor, if poſſible, any other Perſons who had continued faithful to the Commonwealth, might be

choſen Members of the approaching Aſſembly, Letters were diſpatched to all Parts of *England* to give notice that it would be reſented, if ſuch Perſons were elected; one of which was publickly read at the Election for *Cheſter*, to deter Men from appearing for the Preſident. In *Wiltſhire* a more numerous Party appearing for me than was expected, they were aſſured by ſome Creatures of *Cromwel* that I was a Priſoner in the Tower, and by one who had formerly ſerved under me, that I had declared to him that I would not be choſen. Yet for all this the People perſiſting in their Reſolution to elect me, the Deputy Major-General of the County demanded of them, whether they intended to have a new War, that they deſigned to make choice of me? By ſuch Arts the Emiſſaries of the Court cauſed the Elections in moſt Places to be decided in favour of ſuch as pleaſed them. For my own part, tho I had reſolved not to ſtand, for Reaſons which I mentioned before, and on that account had not directly or indirectly ſpoken or written to any Perſon to appear for me; yet I muſt acknowledg I was not diſſatisfied that ſo conſiderable a Number of my Country-men were not afraid to own and accept that Service (how ſmall ſo ever) that I had done in the Common Cauſe. The Court finding by the Liſts they had received, that notwithſtanding all their Menaces, Promiſes, and other Artifices, divers Perſons were choſen whom they knew to be no Favourers of the

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Uſurpation, reſolved to clear their hands of them at once. And to that end, under colour of a Clauſe in the Inſtrument of Government, that none ſhould be admitted to Places of Power and Truſt, but ſuch as were Men of Sincerity and Integrity, they gave an Excluſion to Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* and Mr. *Scott*, with as many more as they thought fit. By this means, and the refuſal of others to take out their Permiſſions to ſit from *Cromwel* and his Council, as was required, leſt they ſhould ſeem to countenance ſuch a deteſtable Impoſition and open Breach of Privilege, it came to paſs that about a hundred of thoſe who were elected by the Country, were excluded from the Diſcharge of their Truſt, whilſt thoſe for *Ireland* and *Scotland*, who were choſen by and for the Sword, were admitted without any ſcruple. Thoſe that were excluded preſented a Petition to the ſitting Members, acquainting them, that being choſen by the Country to ſerve with them, they were ready to diſcharge their Duty, but were prevented from doing the ſame by the Power of the Sword, and refuſed Admittance into the Houſe by a Guard of Souldiers. After the Petition had been read, a Committee was ſent to inquire of *Cromwel* and his Council concerning the Reaſons of that Proceeding, who returned with this Anſwer: That if the Perſons complaining would addreſs themſelves to them, they ſhould be relieved if there was Cauſe. With this Anſwer theſe

Men who would be accounted an Engliſh Parliament acquieſced, leaving their Privileges unvindicated, and the Merit of Elections to Parliament to be adjudged by Men without doors. Then they proceeded to prepare divers Bills, which tended chiefly to gratify the Souldiery, and ſuch Perſons as had received Grants of Land from *Cromwel* and his Council, which were confirmed to them. Yet for all this Harmony there were ſometimes bitter Reflections caſt upon the Proceedings of the Major Generals by the Lawyers and Country Gentlemen, who accuſed them to have done many things oppreſſive to the People, in interrupting the Courſe of the Law, and threatning ſuch as would not ſubmit to their Arbitrary Orders, with Tranſportation beyond the Seas. On the other hand the Major Generals inſiſted vehemently with the Aſſembly to confirm the Inſtrument of Government, and to eſtabliſh their Authority in particular: and when it was propoſed by ſome who were unwilling to ſettle ſuch an Arbitrary Power by a Law, that to compoſe theſe Differences an Act of Indemnity ſhould be granted for what was paſt, one of the Major Generals had the Inſolence to ſay, They would not thank them for that; for whilſt they had their Swords by their ſides, they could protect and indemnify themſelves. So confident was the Souldiery grown, that they durſt openly avow themſelves to be our Lords and Maſters. But the Lawyers and others of the Aſſembly having

privately received Encouragement from thoſe who were more powerful than the Major Generals, deſiſted not from endeavouring the Suppreſſion of their Authority, loading them with many heavy Accuſations, for which they had given but too juſt Cauſe. Yet the Major Generals, confident of the Strength of their Party, moved for a day when the Inſtrument of Government, and the Confirmation of their Power, ſhould be debated; which having obtained, and the time come, they moved that the whole Inſtrument might be confirmed at once; but that being rejected, it was debated in Parts. When the Power of the Major Generals came under Conſideration, all Men were in great Expectation concerning the iſſue of it. It was ſuppoſed that *Cromwel*, who had erected their Authority, and engaged them in thoſe Actions for which they were now become odious, would ſupport them againſt all Attempts; becauſe there appeared now no way ſo probable to maintain his own Power, as by keeping the Army firmly united to him. But Ambition had corrupted his Underſtanding to that degree, that he made no ſcruple to ſacrifice theſe Men, who, to ſay no worſe, had enlarged their Conſciences to an extraordinary ſize in the execution of his Orders, to thoſe who in requital of the Favour had promiſed to make him King. Hitherto he had given good Words to the Major Generals; but when their Power came to be debated, Mr. *Cleypole* his Son-in-law firſt ſtood

up, which was unuſual for him to do at all, and told the Houſe, that he could but ſtart the Game, and muſt leave thoſe who had more Experience to follow the Chace: and therefore ſhould only ſay, that he had formerly thought it neceſſary in reſpect to the Condition in which the Nation had been, that the Major Generals ſhould be entruſted with the Authority which they had exerciſed; but in the preſent State of Affairs he conceived it inconſiſtent with the Laws of *England*, and Liberties of the People, to continue their Power any longer. This Motion was a clear Direction to the Sycophants of the Court, who being fully perſwaded that *Cleypole* had delivered the Senſe, if not the very Words of *Cromwel* in this Matter, joined as one Man in oppoſing the Major Generals, and ſo their Authority was abrogated.

Soon after Col. *William Jephſon*, one of the Members that ſerved for *Ireland*, moved in the Houſe, that *Cromwel* might be made King; but Matters not being throughly concerted, it had no other effect than to ſound the Inclinations of the Aſſembly. *Cromwel* having notice of this Motion, as he had of every thing that paſſed, reproved the Colonel gently at Table for it, telling him, that he wondred what he could mean by ſuch a Propoſition. To which the other anſwered, that whilſt he was permitted the Honour of ſitting in that Houſe, he muſt deſire the Liberty to diſcharge his Conſcience, tho his Opinion ſhould happen to diſpleaſe.

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Whereupon *Cromwel* clapping him on the Shoulder ſaid, *Get thee gone for a mad Fellow as thou art.* But it ſoon appeared with what Madneſs he was poſſeſſed; for he immediately obtained a Foot Company for his Son, then a Scholar at *Oxford,* and a Troop of Horſe for himſelf: and not long after was ſent Agent to the Crown of *Sweden,* with a conſiderable Allowance appointed to defray the Expences of his Journey thither.

Many Objections being made in the Houſe againſt the Inſtrument of Government, *Cromwel,* who was vehemently deſirous to be a King, began to think it altogether inſignificant to that purpoſe, and that it would be more conducing to his Deſign if a new Form were drawn up, and preſented to the Aſſembly for their Approbation. Accordingly it was prepared by his Creatures, and brought into the Houſe by Mr. *Pack* an Alderman of *London,* where it was without much difficulty read, and appeared to be a Shoe fitted to the Foot of a Monarch, tho at preſent a Blank was left for the Title of the ſingle Perſon, who with Two Houſes was to have the Supreme Legiſlative Power.

Thoſe who were of the Major Generals and Souldiers Party finding that *Cromwel* was abandoning them to eſpouſe another Intereſt, ſtruck in with thoſe who ſtill retained ſome Affection to the Commonwealth; and all together perceiving that theſe new Meaſures had been adviſed by the Craft of our old Enemy, to make

uſe of *Cromwel*'s Ambition as the only probable means to reduce us to our former Servitude, fell ſo furiouſly upon *Pack* for his great Preſumption in bringing a Buſineſs of that nature into the Houſe, in ſuch an Unparliamentary way, that they bore him down from the Speaker's Chair to the Bar of the Houſe of Commons. But this heat being ſoon over, the Lord *Broghil*, Serjeant *Glynn*, and others, who were acquainted with *Cromwel*'s Deſign, endeavoured to perſwade the Houſe to debate the new Form, telling them, that being Maſters of their own Reſolutions, they might retain as much of it as was good, and reject what was not ſo. By this means they brought it to be debated; and tho they received ſome Oppoſition therein, yet when it came to be put to the Queſtion, they carried all before them, and grew ſo hardy to move that the Blank left for the Inſertion of the Title of the Chief Magiſtrate might be filled up with the Name of *KING*. This Motion, tho earneſtly oppoſed by Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, was carried alſo, and the Name voted, together with the filling up the two Blanks left for the Two Houſes, with the words, *Houſe of Commons, and Other Houſe*. The latter of theſe was reſolved to conſiſt of ſeventy Perſons to be nominated by *Cromwel*, and to be approved by the Aſſembly then ſitting. But *Cromwel* being acquainted with that Reſolution, and diſliking it, as unreaſonable that Gentlemens Names ſhould be canvaſſed,

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and it may be their Perſons reflected on in a publick Aſſembly, he obtained it to be left to him to appoint whom he ſhould think fit to compoſe that *Other Houſe*. He told them alſo, that the Proviſion made for his Expence, and for maintaining the Army and Fleet, was not ſufficient, and thereby procured a great Sum of Money to be added to that which at firſt they deſigned. Yet for all this he ſcrupled to take upon him the Title of King, as a thing ſcandalous and of great hazard; tho at the ſame time he vilified the former Inſtrument of Government to the laſt degree; and after having ſo highly magnified it when it was eſtabliſhed, he compared it now to a rotten Plank, on which if a Man ſet his Foot it will break and leave him. The Aſſembly well underſtanding that the Cauſe of his Delays was either to be importuned to the thing, or to get time to perſwade the Army to be of the ſame Opinion with himſelf, appointed a Committee of their own Members to give him their Reaſons for accepting this Title. Amongſt others the Lord *Broghil* much preſſed that Paſſage brought by the Apoſtle in the Diſpute concerning the Abolition of the Jewiſh Worſhip by the new and living Way revealed in Jeſus Chriſt, illuſtrated by the Wife that was put away, who might yet be retaken by her former Husband, if ſhe was not married to another; applying this Similitude to the preſent occaſion, as if there was no other way to keep out *Charles Stewart*, but by filling his

his Place with another King. Mr. *Lenthall*'s Argument was very Parliamentary and rational, had it been rightly applied; for he preſſed him to accept of it, becauſe it was propoſed to him by the Parliament, as he was pleaſed to call it, whom he ſaid he ought not to deny. But he was now arrived to that height of Vanity, that tho the Deſign of this Argument was only to perſwade him to accept that which he deſired above all things in the World; yet conceiving it below his Grandeur to acknowledg ſuch a Prerogative in the Parliament alone, he expreſſed his Diſlike of it. And tho he owned that the Reaſons they had offered had much weight in them, and that he was convinced there was no Evil in the thing, yet he could not think it expedient to accept their Offer, becauſe he found that many of the good People of the Nation were diſſatisfied with it. With this Anſwer he diſmiſſed them for the preſent, and appointed them to attend him again. In the mean time he endeavoured by all poſſible means to prevail with the Officers of the Army to approve his Deſign, and knowing that Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* and Col. *Desborough* were particularly averſe to it, he invited himſelf to dine perſonally with the Colonel, and carried the Lieutenant General with him, where he began to droll with them about Monarchy, and ſpeaking ſlightly of it, ſaid it was but a Feather in a Man's Cap, and therefore wondred that Men would not pleaſe the Children,

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and permit them to enjoy their Rattle. But he received from them, as Col. *Desborough* ſince told me, ſuch an Anſwer as was not at all ſutable to his Expectations or Deſires. For they aſſured him, that there was more in this Matter than he perceived; that thoſe who put him upon it were no Enemies to *Charles Stewart*; and that if he accepted of it, he would infallibly draw Ruin on himſelf and Friends. Having thus ſounded their Inclinations, that he might conclude in the manner he had begun, he told them, they were a Couple of ſcrupulous Fellows, and ſo departed. The next day he ſent a Meſſage to the Houſe, to require their Attendance in the Painted Chamber the next Morning, deſigning, as all Men believed, there to declare his Acceptation of the Crown. But in the mean time meeting with Col. *Desborough* in the great Walk of the Park, and acquainting him with his Reſolution, the Colonel made anſwer, that he then gave the Cauſe and *Cromwel*'s Family alſo for loſt; adding, that tho he was reſolved never to act againſt him, yet he would not act for him after that time. So after ſome other Diſcourſe upon the ſame Subject, *Desborough* went home, and there found Col. *Pride*, whom *Cromwel* had knighted with a Faggot-ſtick; and having imparted to him the Deſign of *Cromwel* to accept the Crown, *Pride* anſwered, he ſhall not: Why, ſaid the Colonel, how wilt thou hinder it? To which *Pride* replied, Get me a Petition drawn, and I will prevent

vent it. Whereupon they both went to Dr. *Owen*, and having acquainted him with what had hapned, they perſwaded him to draw a Petition according to their Deſires. Whilſt this was doing, *Cromwel* having reflected on his Diſcourſe with Col. *Desborough*, and being informed that *Lambert* and divers other Officers were diſſatisfied with his Deſign, ſent a Meſſage to put off the Meeting in the Painted Chamber, and to deſire that the Houſe would ſend a Committee to confer with him about the Great Buſineſs that was then depending; intending thereby to gain time in which he might be fitting the Officers for his Deſign. But the Houſe being riſen before his Meſſage arrived, and ſo out of a Capacity to appoint any to come to him, the old Committee that had been formerly appointed to that end, thought fit by virtue of their general Inſtructions to wait on him to know his Pleaſure. Accordingly they came to *Whitehall*, where they attended about two hours, and then a *Barbary*-Horſe being brought into the Garden for him to ſee, gave him an occaſion to paſs through the Room where the Committee was attending. As he was paſſing by without taking the leaſt notice of them, one of the Meſſengers put him in mind that they had attended very long; which he ſlightly excuſing, told them, that he thought the Houſe being riſen before his Meſſage came to them, had not impowered any Perſons to come to him. It was anſwered, That they came to him

him upon the general Instructions which they had formerly received from the House: Upon which he told them, he would send to them some other time. The next Morning the House being in great Expectation of a Message to appoint the Time and Place for the Acceptance of what they had prepared, some Officers of the Army coming to the Parliament doors, sent in a Message to Col. *Desborough*, to acquaint him, that they had a Petition which they desired him to present to the House. But he knowing the Contents of it, and conceiving it unfit for him to take publick notice of it before it was presented, acquainted the House, that certain Officers of the Army had a Petition to present to them. Which having done, and every one supposing that the Desires of the Officers were conformable to their own, *Cromwel*'s Party concluding that no part of the Army durst appear for the crossing his Design, it was generally agreed that they should be called in, and have leave to present it with their own hands. Lieutenant Colonel *Mason* was chosen by the rest of the Officers to deliver the Petition, which when he had done, and the Officers withdrawn, it was read. The Contents of it were to this purpose; *That they had hazarded their Lives against Monarchy, and were still ready so to do, in Defence of the Liberties of the Nation: That having observed in some Men great Endeavours to bring the Nation again under their old Servitude, by pressing their General to take upon*

on him the Title and Government of a King, in order to deſtroy him, and weaken the Hands of thoſe who were faithful to the Publick; they therefore humbly deſired that they would diſcountenance all ſuch Perſons and Endeavours, and continue ſtedfaſt to the old Cauſe, for the Preſervation of which they for their parts were moſt ready to lay down their Lives. This Petition was ſubſcribed by two Colonels, ſeven Lieutenant Colonels, eight Majors, and ſixteen Captains, who with ſuch Officers in the Houſe as were of the ſame Opinion, made up the Majority of thoſe relating to that part of the Army which was then quartered about the Town. It's difficult to determine whether the Houſe or *Cromwel* was more ſurpriſed at this unexpected Addreſs; but certainly both were infinitely diſturbed at it. As ſoon as the notice of it was brought to *Cromwel*, he ſent for Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, and told him, that he wondred he would ſuffer ſuch a Petition to proceed ſo far, which he might have hindred, ſince he knew it to be his Reſolution not to accept the Crown without the Conſent of the Army; and therefore deſired him to haſten to the Houſe, and to put them off from doing any thing farther therein. The Lieutenant General immediately went thither, and told them that the Petition ought not to be debated, much leſs to be anſwered at this time, the Contents of it being to deſire them not to preſs the Protector to be King, whereas the preſent Buſineſs was to receive his Anſwer to what

had

had been formerly offered to him, and therefore desired that the Debate of it might be put off, till they had received his Answer. To this the House having consented, they received a Message from *Cromwel*, that instead of meeting him in the Painted Chamber, which was the Place where he used to give his Consent, they would meet him in the Banqueting House: So the Members came to *Whitehal*, and *Cromwel* with great Ostentation of his Self-denial refused the Title of King.

The Grand Design of the Usurper having miscarried, the People were full of Expectation to see what Form of Government the Men of the Sword would erect next. For as *Cromwel* had used all imaginable Art and Industry to throw Dirt on all that had preceded, and most of all on the Instrument of Government, which he was once so fond of, and yet now alledged that it neither provided for the Safety of the Governours or Governed: So the present Assembly had openly declared against the Family of the *Stuarts*. But the Restitution of the Commonwealth being the thing that was principally dreaded by these self-interested Men, it was so contrived and carried, that the House shall present their humble Petition and Advice to him again, with the sole Alteration of the Word *King* into that of *Protector*. This Resolution was the more easily obtained, because the Commonwealth's Men had been, under various frivolous Pretences, denied

nied their Places in the Assembly; so that those only, who were for a Protector with an Army, or those who were for King *Oliver* with an Army, were the Persons that were permitted to dispute within those Walls. And now *Cromwel* having manifested his Weakness, as well as his Ambition in the late Intrigue, was glad to take what he could get, and without any dispute agreed to what was proposed to him by the Assembly: which being done, the time was appointed for vesting him with the Authority which was to be conferred upon him, and *Westminster-Hall* was the Place where the Solemnity was performed. The Aldermen of *London* and the Judges, rather moved by Fear than Affection, were prevailed to be present; and Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, who was Speaker of the Assembly, was ordered to administer an Oath to him, and to present him with a Sword, a Scepter, and a Bible. The pretended Protector was clothed with a Purple Robe lined with Ermins, the Train of which was held by the Son of the Lord *Roberts*. Of all the Nobility the Earl of *Warwick* was the only Person that accompanied him; and because he would still retain a Form of Godliness, he appointed Mr. *Lockyer* to preach before him at his Return to *Whitehall*. The next Day after this Solemnity, a Feast was prepared for the Assembly and Officers of the Army, at which it was observed Major General *Lambert* was not present, whereby it was suspected that he was de-

declining in favour for obſtructing *Cromwel*'s Deſign of being King: For as I have been informed by a Perſon deſerving Credit, the Major General did take the Liberty, when that Queſtion was on foot, to tell *Cromwel*, that if he accepted the Crown, he could not aſſure the Army to him.

By the *Humble Petition and Advice*, for ſo was this new Inſtrument called, among other things it was provided, that an Oath ſhould be taken by thoſe of the Aſſembly and Council, not to do any thing againſt the preſent Government, and to be true and faithful to the Protector, according to the Law of the Land. This Oath Major General *Lambert* refuſed, whereupon *Cromwel* ſent for him, and told him that he was well aſſured his Refuſal proceeded not on account of this new Authority; for he might remember that he himſelf did at the firſt preſs him to accept the Title of King: and therefore if he was now diſſatisfied with the preſent Poſture of Affairs, he deſired him to ſurrender his Commiſſion. To this the Major General anſwered, that having no ſuſpicion that it would then be demanded of him, he had not brought it, but if he pleaſed to ſend for it, he ſhould deliver it, which two or three days after was done; and ſo his Pay as Colonel of a Regiment of Horſe, as Colonel of a Regiment of Foot, and as Major General of the Army, was ſtruck off, together with ten Pounds by day, which was the General's Pay,

and which *Cromwel* allowed him, to keep him firm to his Intereſt. But *Cromwel* did not think it ſafe to diſguſt him intirely, and therefore thought it expedient to allow him a Penſion of two thouſand Pounds by Year, to keep him from any deſperate Undertaking.

Sir *Henry Vane* being ſtill a Priſoner in *Carisbrook* Caſtle, an Order was ſent thither from the Council to bring him from thence, and to permit him to enjoy his Liberty, which was done, and he arrived at *London* in a ſhort time after, where he met with another kind of Perſecution: For *Cromwel* perceiving that the former Method had proved unſucceſsful, privately incouraged ſome of the Army to take poſſeſſion of certain Foreſt Walks belonging to Sir *Henry Vane* near the Caſtle of *Raby*, and alſo gave order to the Attorney General, on pretence of a Flaw in his Title to a great part of his Eſtate, to preſent a Bill againſt him in the Exchequer. This was deſigned to oblige him to expoſe his Title, which if they could get done, they doubted not, by the Craft of the Lawyers, to find ſome defect in it, whereby it was hoped he would be forced into a Compliance; yet at the ſame time he was privately informed that he ſhould be freed from this, or any other Inquiſition, and that he ſhould have whatſoever elſe he would deſire, in caſe he would comply with the preſent Authority.

The Aſſembly having provided Supplies for the Army, and referred other things to the Conduct

Conduct of *Cromwel*, adjourned themſelves for ſome Months, during which time *Cromwel* endeavoured to make up a Collection of Men of all Intereſts to fill that which was called the Other Houſe. The principal part of them were ſuch as had procured their preſent Poſſeſſions by their Wits, and were reſolved to enlarge them by ſelling their Conſciences for the purchaſe of his Favour. With theſe were joined ſome of the Antient Nobility, together with ſome of the Gentry, who had conſiderable Eſtates derived to them from their Anceſtors; ſuch were Mr. *Pierpoint*, Mr. *Alexander Popham*, Sir *Richard Onſlow*, Sir *Thomas Honywood*, Mr. *Edmund Thomas*, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, and others. He ſent alſo a Summons, in the form of the antient Writ directed by the Kings of *England* to ſuch as they called to the Lords Houſe, to Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, who had always appeared a zealous Aſſertor of the Publick Liberty. Sir *Arthur* having received the Summons from the Meſſenger, who brought it to him into the Country, diſmiſſed him, without declaring his Reſolutions concerning it. Mr. *William Lenthal*, who had been Speaker of the Parliament, was very much diſturbed that a Writ was not ſent to him to enable him to ſit in the Other Houſe. He complained, that he who had been for ſome years the firſt Man of the Nation, was now denied to be a Member of either Houſe of Parliament; for he was uncapable of ſitting in the Houſe of Commons

by his Place as Maſter of the Rolls, whereby he was obliged to ſit as Aſſiſtant in the Other Houſe. This grievous Complaint coming to the ears of *Cromwel*, he ſent him a Writ, which ſo elevated the poor Man, that riding in his Coach through the Strand, and ſeeing Mr. *Lambert Osbalſton*, formerly Maſter of the School at *Weſtminſter*, whom he knew to be a great Lover of Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, he asked him what Sir *Arthur* deſigned to do in anſwer to the Writ which he had received? and Mr. *Osbalſton* anſwering that he knew not what the Intentions of Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* were concerning it; he replied, I pray write to him, and deſire him by no means to omit taking his Place in that Houſe, and aſſure him from me that all that do ſo, ſhall themſelves and their Heirs be for ever Peers of *England*.

The time for the meeting of theſe venerable Aſſemblies being come, none of the antient Nobility, except the Lord *Eure*, adventured to come into the Other Houſe. The Earl of *Warwick* himſelf, tho he ventured to marry his Grandſon to one of *Cromwel*'s Daughters, would not be perſwaded to ſit with Col. *Hewſon* and Col. *Pride*, whereof the one had been a Shoomaker, and the other a Drayman; and had they driven no worſe Trade, I know not why any good Man ſhould refuſe to act with them. Divers of the Gentry did not appear, yet others, and particularly ſuch as were related to thoſe in Power, were prevailed with to be of this Aſſembly. † The

The Door of the House of Commons, for so they would have it called, was now opened, and the Guard removed, and every Member admitted that took the Oath prescribed by them before their Adjournment: Most of the Members, who had been formerly excluded, took the Oath also, and were admitted to sit in the House, where the Addition of these last, together with the Removal of those of the other House, who were for the most part taken out of this, made a considerable Alteration in that Body. Great Expectations were raised to see what Course Sir *Arthur Haslerig* would take, who being chosen by the People to sit in one Assembly, and by *Cromwel* to sit in another, had not yet declared his Intentions in that matter. He came to *London* as privately as he could, but the Court having notice of his Arrival, sent Col. *Howard* to his Lodgings the next Morning to feel his Pulse; which he, suspecting something of that nature, avoided by going early abroad; and coming to the Door of the House of Commons, procured some of his Friends to give him the Oath; then he took his Place in the House without any dispute, as did also Mr. *Scot*, with divers others who had been formerly excluded by *Cromwel* and his Council. There they began to call in question all that had been done in the former Sessions, grounding their Arguments on the Force that was upon that Assembly, whereby a great number of those who had as good a Right to sit there

as any others, were peremptorily refuſed to ſit. Eight or ten Days were ſpent in theſe Debates; and in the mean time ſome Petitions were carrying on, and ſubſcribed by many thouſands, to be preſented to thoſe who ſate in the place where the Parliament of *England* ought to be. *Cromwel* was not a little ſtartled at theſe Proceedings, ſuſpecting that part of the Army, eſpecially thoſe that were quartered about St. *James*'s, were engaged therein; therefore to prevent that which he feared, and which his Conſcience told him he had deſerv'd, he took the Inſpection of the Watch at *Whitehal* for ſeveral Nights ſucceſſively in his own Perſon. And the Alarm from abroad increaſing daily, he reſolved upon the Diſſolution of this Aſſembly, intending as ſoon as they were diſmiſſed, and the Power devolved upon him again, to curb that Spirit of Liberty that had lately appeared, and to remove ſuch Officers from their Commands in the Army, whom he ſuſpected to have had any hand in their late Counſels. Whilſt he was deliberating about the beſt means of effecting this Deſign, freſh Information was brought him concerning the Diligence of his Adverſaries in all Parts; which quickened him to that degree, that he would not ſtay for one of his own Coaches, but taking the firſt that was at hand, with ſuch Guards as he could preſently get together, he hurried to the Other Houſe. Whither being come, he imparted his Intentions to diſſolve that Aſſembly to Lieut. Gene-

General *Fleetwood*; who earneſtly endeavouring to diſſwade him from it, he clapped his Hand upon his Breaſt, and ſwore by the Living God he would do it. Then he ſent for the Judges, and they being come, diſpatched another Meſſage to the Aſſembly to attend him preſently. Many of them declined to come, and thoſe that appeared were very ill treated by him for obſtructing that Work, which he ſaid was ſo well begun, in order to the Settlement of the Nation. On the other hand, he aſſured thoſe whom he had called to his Other Houſe, that notwithſtanding all the Practices that had been uſed againſt them, they ſhould continue to be Lords, and ſo diſmiſſed both the Aſſemblies to follow their own private Affairs.

Cromwel having thus reſumed the Power into his own hands, made uſe of it to remove from the Army ſuch as he ſuſpected to have obſtructed his Deſign; and beginning with his own Regiment of Horſe, he ſent for Col. *Packer*, who was the Major, and Capt. *Gladman*, who commanded his own Troop, with the reſt of the Captains of that Regiment to attend him: Whither being come, he demanded of them if they were willing to promiſe Fidelity to the preſent Government, and to fight againſt thoſe that ſhould oppoſe it. They anſwered they were ready to fight againſt *Charles Stuart*, and that Intereſt; but they could not engage

againſt they knew not whom, and for they knew not what. But he provoked with this Anſwer, diſmiſſed them from their Commands, and placed Men that would obey without reſerve in their room. By this and other means he loſt the Affections of great numbers of Men, that would have been uſeful and faithful to him againſt the Family of the late King. And it being well known that he could not ſubſiſt at all without at leaſt a Mock-Parliament, Mr. *Henry Nevil*, a hearty Aſſertor of the Commonwealth Intereſt, having been much injured by the Sheriff of *Barkſhire* in the laſt Return for that County, commenced a Suit againſt the ſaid Sheriff, in order to deter others from the like foul Practices for the future: But not being willing ſo far to acknowledg the preſent Authority, as to prefer his Action upon the Inſtrument of Government, he was adviſed by Serjeant *Maynard*, Mr. *Allen* of *Grays-Inn*, and ſome others, to bring his Action of the Caſe againſt the Sheriff. On the day of Trial Mr. *Nevil* deſired Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, Sir *James Harrington*, Mr. *Scot*, my ſelf, and ſome other Members of the Long Parliament, to be preſent in the Court; where after all the Objections made by the Sheriff's Counſel againſt the Declaration it ſelf, and againſt the Damages pretended by him for not being returned, were overruled by the Court, they proceeded to hear the Witneſſes on both ſides;

ſides; which being done, the Chief Juſtice *St. Johns* declared to the Jury how heinous a Crime it was for a Sheriff, who being but a Servant to the Country, ſhould preſume to impoſe upon them ſuch Members as he pleaſed to ſerve in Parliament, which was the Bulwark of the Peoples Liberties; adding farther, that if ſuch Practices ſhould be allowed, the People would be out of hope to be relieved from their Grievances. Then the Jury retired, and having conſidered the Depoſitions of the Witneſſes, and alſo what was ſaid to them by the Chief Juſtice, they returned into Court, and found the Sheriff guilty of the Charge, and adjudged him to pay 1500 *l.* for Damages to Mr. *Nevil*, and one hundred Pounds to the Commonwealth. This Verdict was very grateful to thoſe who wiſhed well to the Publick, not only on the account of Mr. *Nevil*, who had entred into this Conteſt to vindicate his Country from Oppreſſion; but becauſe it was hoped it would prove a means to deter other Sheriffs from doing the like for the future. But now the Chief Juſtice having, as he thought, ſufficiently pleaſed the popular Intereſt by what he had ſaid concerning the Rights of the People, began to contrive means to gratify his Maſter *Cromwel*, by whoſe Order the Sheriff had acted; and to this end upon the motion of the Sheriff's Counſel, granted an Arreſt of Judgment, and appointed a Day in the next Term to hear what could be ſaid on each

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ſide. In the mean time the Sheriff, and thoſe who had promiſed to ſupport him, applied themſelves to *Cromwel* to interpoſe his Authority in this matter, charging Mr. *Nevil* with many falſe and malicious Aſperſions, whilſt the Sheriff improving the Opportunity, conveyed away his real and perſonal Eſtate: Endeavours were likewiſe uſed to take off Mr. *Nevil*, by compounding the Buſineſs; but he preferring the Advantage of the Commonwealth before his private Intereſt, refuſed to hearken to any Overtures, till the Judgment was recorded for an Example to Poſterity, and then declared himſelf reſolved to deal with the Sheriff as became him.

The ſtate of Affairs in *Ireland* was little different from that of *England*, and the Army there as much diſaffected to *Cromwel*'s Deſign of being King, as thoſe of that Profeſſion at home; ſo that Col. *Henry Cromwel* who had before courted the Sectarian Party, and ſhewed much reſpect to Col. *Zanchy*, now began to careſs Major *Markham*, Mr. *Winter*, and others of the Presbyterian Intereſt, deſiring them to join in an Addreſs to his Father to ſtand by and defend him againſt his Enemies. To which they anſwered, that if they knew who they were, they could be poſitive in their Anſwer; but being altogether ignorant of the things they were required to engage for, and of the Perſons they were to engage againſt, they could by no means conſent to his Propoſal. In the mean

mean time *Cromwel* was not unmindful of ſecuring the Fleet to his Intereſt; and therefore ſuſpecting that General *Blake* was diſſatisfied with his Proceedings, joined Col. *Montague* who was intirely his Creature, and Col. *Desborough* in Commiſſion with him; the latter only bearing the Name, and managing with other Commiſſioners the Maritime Affairs at home. It was eaſily perceived that *Montague* was ſent to Sea with *Blake* to gain Experience in thoſe Affairs, and to endeavour to get an Intereſt in the Seamen, that the Credit of *Blake* might be the better balanced, or his Perſon totally laid aſide: But it pleaſed God that this Work was in a ſhort time done to their hands, General *Blake* falling ſick a little after of a Diſtemper, whereby he died. The Loſs of this great Man was lamented by *Cromwel* much in the ſame manner as that of the Lord Deputy *Ireton*, and that alſo of General *Deane* had been.

Cromwel having been diſappointed, as I formerly mentioned, in his Endeavours of procuring a Civil Authority to countenance his Arbitrary Power, made it his Buſineſs ſo to balance all Intereſts, that they ſhould not dare to oppoſe him, for fear of bringing themſelves into a worſe condition than that wherein they were. To this end he gratified ſuch of the Presbyterian Party as were the moſt complying, and courted divers of the Nobility, particularly the Earl of *Warwick*, whoſe Grandſon was admitted

mitted to be a Suitor to his youngeſt Daughter. But becauſe that this Alliance was not at all grateful to ſome Perſons about him, he contrived to appear averſe to the Match; and then by the Management of Sir *Edward Sydenham* it was brought about that the young Couple were married without the knowledg of their Parents: for which Contrivance Sir *Edward* was for a time forbidden the Court.

Notwithſtanding theſe and many other Artifices uſed by him to ſupport his Uſurpation, continual Deſigns were ſet on foot againſt him. Some Fifth-Monarchy-men, to the number of about three hundred, expecting extraordinary Aſſiſtance from Heaven, had formed a Deſign to dethrone him; but theſe he ſlighted on account of the Smalneſs of their Number, and having ſome Spies amongſt them, who gave him Intelligence of all their Meaſures, he ſuffered them to go on till the Night before that wherein they had appointed to rendezvouz. At which time he ſent a Guard of Souldiers, who ſeized the Principal of them as they were conſulting about the manner of putting their Enterprize in execution. Their Declarations were alſo taken with them, and their Standard which had in it a Lion Couchant with theſe words, *Who ſhall rouſe him up?* Theſe Men being for the moſt part Tradeſmen, were carried Priſoners to the Gate-houſe, where they lay long in a miſerable Condition. Soon after this ſome Perſons that uſed to meet in *Coleman-ſtreet*, to

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deplore the Apoſtacy of the Times, and particularly that of *Whitehall*, were ſeized by the Lord Mayor's Officers, purſuant to *Cromwel*'s Orders, as they were coming out from their Meeting-place. Amongſt theſe was a Cornet whoſe Name was *Day*, and who being charged with ſaying that *Cromwel* was a Rogue and a Traitor, confeſſed the Words; and to juſtify himſelf ſaid, that *Cromwel* had affirmed in the preſence of himſelf and divers other Officers, that if he did oppreſs the Conſcientious, or betray the Liberties of the People, or not take away Tithes by a certain time, now paſt, they ſhould then have Liberty to ſay he was a Rogue and a Traitor: He moved therefore that he might be permitted to produce his Witneſſes, who were then preſent, to the Particulars beforementioned. But the Matter was ſo ordered, that he and ſome others were fined and impriſoned for their pretended Miſdemeanours. Another Plot much more dangerous was about the ſame time carried on by the Royaliſts, and diſcovered to him by his Spies. The Perſons concerned in it he uſed with more Severity, becauſe he accounted them to be of a more formidable Party, and therefore referred them to be tried by thoſe Perſons whom his laſt Aſſembly had nominated to be a High Court of Juſtice. The Priſoners were Dr. *Hewet*, Sir *Henry Slingſby*, and Mr. *Mordaunt*, with ſome others of the meaner ſort. The general Charge againſt them was for endeavouring to levy War againſt the

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Government on the behalf of *Charles Stuart*. The particular Charge againſt Dr. *Hewet* was for diſperſing Commiſſions from the Son of the late King, and perſwading divers to raiſe Forces by virtue of the ſame. That againſt Sir *Henry Slingsby* was for attempting to debauch ſome of the Gariſon of *Hull* to the Service of *Charles Stuart*, and delivering a Commiſſion from him to them. The Priſoners of leſs Note were charged with a Deſign of firing the City in ſeveral Places, at the time appointed for their Party to be in Arms. Dr. *Hewet* being brought before the Court, moved that he might be tried by a Jury, and demurred to the Juriſdiction of the Court. But the Court over-ruled his Demurrer, and told him, that unleſs he would plead to his Charge, they would cauſe his Refuſal to be entred, and proceed againſt him as if the Fact were confeſſed. This being twice ſaid to him, he was required the third time to plead: To which he anſwered, that if the Judges would declare it to be according to Law for him to plead, he would obey: but he was told that the Gentlemen then preſent were his Judges, and that if he would not plead, they would regiſter his Contempt the third time, and upon his Refuſal did ſo. Mr. *Mordaunt* admoniſhed by his Example, pleaded not guilty; and after a full hearing of the Witneſſes on both ſides, the Court acquitted him by one Voice. Then Sir *Henry Slingsby* was called to the Bar, and the Witneſſes on each ſide being heard, he

was pronounced Guilty, tho in the Opinion of many Men he had very hard Measure. For it appeared that he was a Prisoner at the time when he was charged to have practised against the Government; that he was a declared Enemy, and therefore by the Laws of War free to make any such Attempt: Besides it was alledged that the Persons whom he was accused to have endeavoured to corrupt, had trapan'd him by their Promises to serve the King in delivering *Hull*, if he would give them a Commission to act for him, which Commission was an old one that had long lain by him. But all this being not thought sufficient to excuse him, he was adjudged to die. The rest of the Prisoners were also condemned, and Sentence of Death being pronounced, Sir *Henry Slingsby* and Dr. *Hewet* had the Favour of being beheaded; and the others, being Men of a lesser Figure, were hanged. *Cromwel*'s Daughter and Favourite Mrs. *Cleypole*, laboured earnestly with her Father to save the Life of Dr. *Hewet*, but without Success: which Denial so afflicted her, that it was reported to have been one Cause of her Death, which happened soon after with the concurrence of an Ulcer in her Womb.

The Usurper, as he was thus prodigal of English Blood, so was he no less profuse of the Publick Treasure, in procuring Intelligence from the Royal Party abroad. To which end he employed one *Henry Manning*, Son to one Col. *Richard Manning* a Papist, and formerly a Colo-

Colonel in the late King's Army, where he loſt his Life. This Gentleman he furniſhed with a conſiderable Sum of Money, and ſent him to the Place where the Son of the late King then reſided: Where when he arrived, he informed the Exiles, that he was ſent thither from ſome Friends in *England* that deſired to have their Names concealed. But having with him ſuch good Credentials as ready Money, part whereof he gave to *Charles Stuart*, and diſtributing ſeveral leſſer Sums to his neceſſitous Followers, he was eaſily admitted amongſt them. It happened at that time, that a Gentleman who had ſerved the late King, deſired leave from *Cromwel* to travel, which he obtained on condition he ſhould not ſee the King, which he promiſed. Accordingly when he arrived at *Colen*, if I miſtake not that was the Place, he ſent a Meſſage to the King, that he might be permitted to wait on him at Night, which was granted; and having diſcourſed fully concerning the Affairs he came about, he took leave, and received a Letter which he ſewed within the Crown of his Hat. Upon his Return to *England* he came with Confidence to *Cromwel*, and being demanded by him if he had punctually performed his Promiſe? he anſwered, that he had. But, ſaid *Cromwel*, who was it that put out the Candles when you ſpoke to *Charles Stuart?* This unexpected Queſtion ſomewhat ſtartled him; but *Cromwel* proceeding, asked him, what he ſaid to him? to which the Gentleman an-

anſwered, that he ſaid nothing at all to him. Then ſaid *Cromwel*, did he not ſend a Letter by you? The Gentleman denying that alſo, *Cromwel* took his Hat, and having found the Letter, he ſent him immediately to the Tower. From thence he took the firſt favourable Occaſion to acquaint *Charles Stuart* with all that had hapned to him relating to this Affair, aſſuring him, that one of the three Perſons who were in the Room with him at the time above-mentioned, muſt neceſſarily have betrayed him. Upon this Information *Manning*'s Study was ſearched, and his Correſpondence being diſcovered, leave was obtained from the Duke of *Neuburg* to execute him within his Territories, and accordingly he was ſhot to Death. But tho *Manning*'s Action was baſe and perfidious, as proceeding from a domeſtick Servant, yet by what Law he was executed I confeſs my ſelf utterly ignorant.

After the Death of Mrs. *Cleypole* it was obſerved that *Cromwel* grew melancholy, and alſo diſtempered with divers Infirmities, particularly a malignant Humour in his Foot; which hindring him from the Exerciſes of walking or riding abroad, he obliged his Phyſicians to endeavour to diſperſe it, which they endeavouring to do, drove it upwards to his Heart. By this means he became deſperately ſick; and as ſome about him had for a long time deceived others, ſo they now endeavoured to impoſe upon God himſelf. For Dr. *Goodwin*, his Crea-

ture and Trencher-Chaplain, uſed this Expreſſion in his Prayer during the time of his Sickneſs; *Lord, we beg not for his Recovery, for that thou haſt already granted, and aſſured us of, but for his ſpeedy Recovery.* At this time I was in the County of *Eſſex*, and according to a former Reſolution I had taken, went to *London* to attend my Father *Oldſworth*, and to bring him into the Country, whither he deſigned to come with my Mother *Ludlow*. On the Monday Afternoon I ſet forward on my Journey, the Morning proving ſo tempeſtuous that the Horſes were not able to draw againſt it; ſo that I could reach no farther than *Epping* that Night. By this means I arrived not at *Weſtminſter* till Tueſday about Noon, when paſſing by *Whitehall*, notice was immediately given to *Cromwel*, that I was come to Town. Whereupon he ſent for Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, and ordered him to enquire concerning the Reaſons of my coming in ſuch haſte, and at ſuch a time. The Lieutenant General accordingly deſired by a Meſſage that I would come to him the next Morning, which I did, and underſtood from him that *Cromwel* ſuſpected I was come with a Deſign to raiſe ſome Diſturbance in the Army, and that he was deſirous to know the occaſion of my Journey. I aſſured him, that as it was not in my Power to cauſe any Commotion in the Army, ſo neither was it in my Thoughts at this time; and that I came to Town in order to bring our Family together into

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to the Country, according to a Reſolution taken a Month ſince, and before I heard of *Cromwel*'s Indiſpoſition. He then told me, that the Protector had been ill, but that it was now hoped he was recovering. I ſaid, that I wiſhed him ſo well, that I was not deſirous he ſhould die in the way he was in at preſent, and aſſured him, that I ſhould be glad of the Prolongation of his Life, if he would employ it to the Publick Good, which ought to be more dear to us than Life it ſelf.

At *Whitehall* they were unwilling to have it known that he was ſo dangerouſly ill; yet by reaſon of a Clauſe in the *humble Petition and Advice* (which was the Rule of Government they pretended to act by) that the Protector ſhould have Power to nominate his Succeſſor, the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal attended for ſigning the Declaration of the Perſon to be appointed to ſucceed him. But whether he was unwilling to diſcover his Intentions to leave the Succeſſion to his Son, leſt thereby he ſhould, in caſe of recovery, diſoblige others, whom he had put in expectation of that Power; or whether he was ſo diſcompoſed in Body and Mind, that he could not attend that Matter; or laſtly, whether he would have named or did name any other, is to me uncertain. But certain it is that the Commiſſioners were not admitted till the Friday following, when the Symptoms of Death were apparent upon him, and many Miniſters and others aſſembled in a

Chamber at *Whitehall*, praying for him, whilſt he manifeſted ſo little Remorſe of Conſcience for his betraying the Publick Cauſe, and ſacrificing it to the Idol of his own Ambition, that ſome of his laſt Words were rather becoming a Mediator than a Sinner, recommending to God the Condition of the Nation that he had ſo infamouſly cheated, and expreſſing a great Care of the People whom he had ſo manifeſtly deſpiſed. But he ſeemed above all concerned for the Reproaches he ſaid Men would caſt upon his Name, in trampling on his Aſhes when dead. In this Temper of Mind he departed this Life about two in the Afternoon; and the News of his Death being brought to thoſe who were met together to pray for him, Mr. *Sterry* ſtood up and deſired them not to be troubled. For, ſaid he, this is good News; becauſe if he was of great Uſe to the People of God when he was amongſt us, now he will be much more ſo, being aſcended to Heaven to ſit at the right hand of Jeſus Chriſt, there to intercede for us, and to be mindful of us on all occaſions.

Different were the Effects that the Death of *Cromwel* produced in the Nation: Thoſe Men who had been Sharers with him in the Uſurped Authority were exceedingly troubled, whilſt all other Parties rejoiced at it; each of them hoping that this Alteration would prove advantagious to their Affairs. The Commonwealthsmen were ſo charitable to believe that the Soul-

diery being delivered from their Servitude to the General, to which they were willing to attribute their former Compliances, would now open their Eyes and join with them, as the only means left to preserve themselves and the People. Neither were the Cavaliers without great hopes that new Divisions might arise, and give them an Opportunity of advancing their Minion, who had been long endeavouring to unite all the corrupt Interests of the Nation to his Party. But neither the Sense of their Duty, nor the Care of their own Safety, nor the just Apprehensions of being overcome by their irreconcilable Enemy, could prevail with the Army to return to their proper Station. So that having tasted of Soveraignty under the shadow of their late Master, they resolved against the Restitution of the Parliament. And in order to this it was agreed to proclaim *Richard Cromwel*, eldest Son to *Oliver*, Protector of the Commonwealth, in hopes that he, who by following his Pleasures had rendred himself unfit for Publick Business, would not fail to place the Administration of the Government in the hands of those who were most powerful in the Army. Accordingly the Proclamation was published in *Westminster*, at *Temple-Bar*, and at the *Old Exchange*, with as few Expressions of Joy as had ever been observed on the like occasion. This being done, the Council issued out Orders to the Officers of Civil Justice to act by virtue of their old Commissions till new ones

could be ſent to them: And that nothing might be omitted to fortify the new Government, various means were uſed to procure Addreſſes from all Parts, which were brought in great Numbers from the ſeveral Counties of *England, Scotland* and *Ireland*, as alſo from divers Regiments of the Army. One of the firſt Acts of the new Government was, to order the Funeral of the late Uſurper; and the Council having reſolved that it ſhould be very magnificent, the Care of it was referred to a Committee of them, who ſending for Mr. *Kinnerſly* Maſter of the Wardrobe, deſired him to find out ſome Precedent by which they might govern themſelves in this important Affair. After examination of his Books and Papers, Mr. *Kinnerſly*, who was ſuſpected to be inclined to Popery, recommended to them the Solemnities uſed upon the like occaſion for *Philip* the Second, King of *Spain*, who had been repreſented to be in Purgatory for about two Months. In the like manner was the Body of this great Reformer laid in *Somerſet-houſe:* The Apartment was hung with Black, the Day-light was excluded, and no other but that of Wax Tapers to be ſeen. This Scene of Purgatory continued till the firſt of *November*, which being the day preceding that commonly called *all Souls*, he was removed into the great Hall of the ſaid Houſe, and repreſented *in effigie*, ſtanding on a Bed of Crimſon Velvet covered with a Gown of the like coloured Velvet, a Scepter in his Hand,

Hand, and a Crown on his Head. That part of the Hall wherein the Bed ſtood was railed in, and the Rails and Ground within them covered with Crimſon Velvet. Four or five hundred Candles ſet in flat ſhining Candleſticks were ſo placed round near the Roof of the Hall, that the Light they gave ſeemed like the Rays of the Sun: By all which he was repreſented to be now in a State of Glory. This Folly and Profuſion ſo far provoked the People, that they threw Dirt in the night on his Eſcucheon that was placed over the great Gate of *Somerſet-houſe*. I purpoſely omit the reſt of the Pageantry, the great Number of Perſons that attended on the Body, the Proceſſion to *Weſtminſter*, the vaſt Expence in Mourning, the State and Magnificence of the Monument erected for him, with many other things that I care not to remember.

The Neceſſities of the Government daily increaſing, it was thought expedient to call a Parliament, as they termed it. Whereupon the Council being ſummoned, three Queſtions were debated among them.

1*ſt*. Whether the Elections ſhould be made by the Counties, Cities, and conſiderable Towns, according to the Diſtribution agreed on by the Long Parliament, and practiſed by *Cromwel* in his time; or whether they ſhould be made by the Counties, Cities, and Boroughs, according to the antient Law of the Land.

The 2*d* was concerning the thirty Members to serve for *Ireland*, and thirty for *Scotland*; whether, or how, they should be chosen, there having been as yet no Distribution of Powers to elect, as it was ordered there should be in the humble Petition and Advice.

The 3*d* was touching the Writs of Summons to be issued to those of the other House.

For the first, the Council learned in the Art and Mystery of the Law, advised, That seeing there was a Clause in the *Petition and Advice*, that all should be done according to Law, it was the most safe way to issue out the Writs of Election according to the antient Form; and this Method after some Debate was resolved upon, principally because it was well understood that mean and decayed Boroughs might be much more easily corrupted than the numerous Counties and considerable Cities. The Motion for proceeding according to Law prevailed with them also in reference to the Writs for Members to serve in the Other House, which were accordingly issued out in the same Form with those that had been formerly sent to the Peers. The second Question touching the Members for *Scotland* and *Ireland* was long debated, the most prudent being of opinion, that since Writs were to go out in the antient manner to elect Members to serve for *England* in Parliament, there could be no pretence for those of *Scotland* and *Ireland* to sit with them: How-

However the Majority concluded that Members ſhould be choſen for *Scotland* and *Ireland*, as had been practiſed in the time of *Cromwel*, with this Proviſo, That they ſhould not be admitted to ſit as ſuch, till the Conſent of thoſe choſen for *England* were firſt obtained. The time of Election drawing near, the Court uſed their utmoſt Endeavours to procure ſuch Men to be choſen as were their Creatures, and had their Dependencies on them, in which they had no ſmall Advantages. For beſides the Power of diſcountenancing and puniſhing thoſe that were not their Friends, they had all the Preferments as well Military as Civil in their Diſpoſition. The Officers of the Admiralty and Navy had a great Influence not only upon the Cinque Ports, but alſo upon all Sea-Towns whatſoever, and could preſs at their pleaſure any Inhabitant to ſerve at Sea, and thereby ruin both them and their Families. The Sheriffs, who generally were Men choſen for ſuch Purpoſes, contributed no little Aſſiſtance to their Deſign, by diſpoſing the Writs to whom they pleaſed, and making themſelves Judges of the Fitneſs and due Qualifications of all thoſe who ſhould vote at the ſeveral Elections.

In the mean time divers Perſons who continued unſhaken in their Zeal and Affection to the Commonwealth, met at the Houſe of Sir *Henry Vane*, where they conſulted what would be moſt proper for them to do in caſe any of them ſhould be elected to ſerve in the approaching

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ing Assembly: And after mature Deliberation resolved that if they should be fairly chosen, and that no unjust or dishonourable thing were required of them, they should accept the Employment, and therein use the best of their Endeavours to serve the Publick, being perswaded that it is the Duty of a good Man at all times and in all places, when an Opportunity offers it self, to be useful to his Country. Neither did they think that their Presence and Assistance in such an Assembly could by any means be interpreted to be an Acknowledgment that they were a Parliament, in prejudice of the Right of the Long Parliament, which tho under a Force, yet was never legally dissolved. In consequence of this Resolution Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, Mr. *Thomas Scot*, Mr. *Weaver*, Col. *Kendrick*, and divers others of known Affection to the Commonwealth, being chosen to serve, sat in the Assembly. President *Bradshaw* was returned by the Sheriff for the County of *Chester*; but some of that County having returned another Person, he was not present at their first Meetings, the Assembly having made an Order, That in case of a double Return, neither of the Competitors should sit till the Matter should be heard and decided. Great Endeavours were used by the Court to prevent the Election of Sir *Henry Vane*; and tho their Officers refused to return him at *Hull* and *Bristol*, at both which Places it was said he had the Majority, yet at last he was chosen and returned

ed for the Borough of *Whitchurch* in the County of *Southampton*. The People of this Place were adviſed to this Choice by Mr. *Robert Wallop*; at which the Court-Faction were ſo enraged, that they had ſent a menacing Letter to him, which was ſubſcribed by moſt Juſtices of the Peace for the County, to let him know, that they would oppoſe his Election for the Shire, if he perſiſted to recommend Sir *Henry Vane* to the Choice of the People. But Mr. *Wallop* deſpiſing their Threatnings, continued to aſſiſt Sir *Henry Vane*, and was choſen for the County in deſpite of them.

Thoſe that governed at *Whitehall* had ordered an Oath to be adminiſtred to all ſuch as ſhould be admitted to ſit in the Houſe, whereby the Members were to oblige themſelves not to act or contrive any thing againſt the Protector. This Oath I was unwilling to take, and therefore declined going into the Aſſembly; but being one day walking in *Weſtminſter-hall*, and meeting Sir *Walter St. Johns*, who was one of the Perſons appointed to adminiſter the Oath, he asked me why I came not to the Houſe. I told him, that tho I had heard divers Arguments for taking the Oath, yet my Doubts not being fully ſatisfied by them, I had hitherto abſtained. Whereupon he deſired me to meet him in the Lobby the next Morning, promiſing to carry me in with him, which, ſaid he, will create a Belief in the Houſe that I have given you the Oath. Accordingly I attended,

but

but not finding Sir *Walter* there, I went in, and the Houſe being at Prayers, I ſtood amongſt the reſt of the Members till they were ended, and then went up to the Speaker's Chamber, where, and in the Gallery, I ſat with as much Privacy as I could. Thus I continued to do for about a Week, when News was brought, to the great mortification of the Court, that Sir *Henry Vane* was choſen to ſerve in this Aſſembly for the Borough of *Whitchurch*, as was mentioned before. Sir *Henry* being come to Town, and informed that I ſat in the Houſe, he was pleaſed to make me a Viſit, and to inquire by what means I had procured Admiſſion, for he had been acquainted with my Scruples touching the Oath. I aſſured him, that my Doubts remained ſtill unſatisfied; but that I had ventured to go into the Aſſembly, where I ſat as yet without any Interruption. Within a day or two a Member informed me of an Intention in ſome to complain to the Houſe againſt me for ſitting amongſt them without the Qualification of the Oath: To which I anſwered, that it was no more than I expected. And accordingly one of the Members called *Bodurdo*, the ſame day preſſed to be heard touching a Matter which, he ſaid, concerned the very Being of the Houſe; having been informed that there ſat a Perſon amongſt them, who had not taken the Oath required to be adminiſtred to every Member before his Admiſſion. He therefore moved the Houſe to inquire

quire into it, and to give Order that all Men that ſat there might be upon an equal foot. This Motion was oppoſed by ſome who alledged that it was of far leſs Importance than many other things that were before them. But Mr. *John Trevor*, a leading Man of the Court-Party, ſeconded the former Motion, tho with much Civility and Reſpect, urging that he could not but think it very ſeaſonable, and of Conſequence, conſidering the Worth, as he was pleaſed to ſay, of the Perſon concerned. So the Debate was entred upon, and divers gave their Opinions that the Oath ſhould be peremptorily required. But Mr. *Weaver* and ſome others oppoſed them, alledging, that for the moſt part Oaths proved only Snares to honeſt Men, it being generally obſerved, that thoſe who were leaſt conſcientious in keeping an Oath, were the moſt forward to take it. Col. *Eyres* alſo informed the Houſe, that he had ſat in the Long Parliament without taking the Oath then preſcribed, and that he was fully perſwaded that my Omiſſion therein proceeded not from a Spirit of Oppoſition, but from a real Scruple of Conſcience; that his Caſe had formerly been the ſame with mine; and tho no Man could queſtion my Affection to that Parliament, yet I had moved the Houſe in his behalf, and was the Perſon nominated by them to bring him into the Houſe without taking the Oath. This Debate continuing for two or three hours, was at length interrupted by the

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discovery of a Person sitting in the House, who had not been elected so to do: his Name was *King*, and being called to the Bar, the House demanded of him whether he were a Member? To which he answered, that he knew not whether he were or no. For meeting with an Alderman of *London*, who asked him if he were chosen, he demanded of him the Reason of his Question: Whereupon the Alderman saying that he had seen the Name of one *King* upon the List of Returns, he came down to the House, and had continued so to do, that he might not be wanting in his Duty. This Man being ordered to withdraw, many of the Members willingly left the Debate, and others did so too from their great Zeal against him, supposing him to be a dangerous Person, because he had been observed that Morning in the Speaker's Chamber to approve and promote a Paper which was there delivered, tending to shew the Wickedness of the Designs that were carrying on by the Court-Faction, and the Necessity incumbent on the Assembly to restore the Commonwealth. So the Merits of this Person having been debated also, and the House being informed by one of the Members serving for the City of *London*, that the Man was distempered in his Head to that degree, that his Relations were often obliged to bind him hand and foot, they contented themselves to send him to *Newgate* for a day or two, and then ordered him to be discharged. By this means the Assembly

ſembly was diverted from reſolving to impoſe the Oath; and tho they were much inclined to get rid of my Company, yet partly by finding ſo great Oppoſition, and partly by diſcovering that there were ſome of another Intereſt which they liked better, that had not taken it, they were diſcouraged from reſuming that Debate for the future, tho they did ſometimes mention it by way of Reflection, when I moved any thing diſpleaſing to them.

All Men were in great expectation what the Reſolutions of the Houſe would be concerning the Government. The ſounder part of them were very deſirous to ſecure themſelves in the two eſſential Points which had been the Ground of the Quarrel between the King and the Parliament, *viz. the Militia* and the *Negative Voice*, and to eſtabliſh them in the Repreſentative of the People, before they ſhould enter upon any other Buſineſs. But whilſt theſe important Matters were under conſideration, Mr. *Thurloe* a Member of the Aſſembly, and Secretary to Mr. *Richard Cromwel*, preſented them with a Declaration ready drawn, wherein was contained an Acknowledgment of the ſaid *Richard Cromwel* to be Protector, and the *Petition and Advice* to be the Rule of Government for theſe Nations. This Action was by impartial Men eſteemed to be a great Injury to the Aſſembly; but he had a ſufficient Strength amongſt them to carry him through whatſoever he thought fit to undertake, and therefore he was not only de-

defended for what he had done, but it was resolved that the Declaration ſhould be received and debated. Hereupon it was moved that the Inſtrument might be produced, wherein, according to *the Petition and Advice*, the Succeſſor ought to be nominated, and the Great Seal affixed; but they having no ſuch thing to ſhew, over-ruled that Motion. Not being able to obtain this, and being extremely deſirous to place the Militia in the Parliament, and to make void any Pretence to a Negative Voice in a ſingle Perſon, as well as to do ſome other things for the Peoples Safety and Welfare, the Court-party refuſed to conſent to any thing of that nature for the preſent, craftily inſinuating and making large Promiſes, that ſuch things as were neceſſary ſhould be done hereafter at a more convenient Seaſon. In the next place it was deſired, that ſince it appeared the preſent Power had no legal Foundation, and that it would be moſt ſafe for the Protector to derive his Authority from a right Source, the Words in the Declaration of *Recognizing* him might be altered for *Agnizing* him; that ſo his Right might appear to be founded upon the Conſent of the People repreſented in this Aſſembly. But this Propoſition, tho inforced with many weighty Reaſons, was rejected as the former had been, tho it was thought convenient to divide the Houſe upon it. Upon this Succeſs the Court preſuming to carry all before them, grew unmeaſurably inſolent, and all that could be done

done was only to lengthen out their Debates, and to hang on the Wheels of the Chariot, that they might not be able to drive so furiously. By this means time was gained to infuse good Principles into divers young Gentlemen, who before had never been in any Publick Assembly, in hopes that tho for the present their previous Engagements should carry them against us, yet upon more mature Deliberation they might discover where their true Interest lay. Neither were our Endeavours without Success, for having frequently held the House nine or ten days in Debate before they could come to a Question, many Gentlemen who came to *Westminster* prepossessed in favour of the Court, confessed that the Reasons of the Commonwealth-Party were so cogent, that they were not able to resist them. And because all Parties had confederated against us, we, in order to lessen their Numbers, impeached divers of them for having been of the King's Party, by which means we procured some of them to be expell'd, and frighted away some others who knew themselves to be in the same Condition. The Court to requite us brought Mr. *Marvin Touchet* a Papist, and Brother to the Lord of *Castlehaven*, to accuse Mr. *Villars*, who had voted with us, of serving in the King's Army; and tho it appeared that he was forced so to do by those who had the Government of him, he being then but sixteen Years of Age, and that he came into the Parliament's Quarters as soon as he had an op-

portunity, yet all that could be ſaid proving not ſufficient to excuſe him, he was likewiſe voted out from the Houſe. The next thing we endeavoured was to remove the Scotiſh and Iriſh Members, who had intruded themſelves into the Houſe, and to have the Queſtion put, *Whether thoſe Members choſen by* Scotland *ought by the Law of the Land to ſit as Members of this Parliament.* The Reaſons uſed to juſtify the wording of the Queſtion in this manner were: 1. That there was no colour by the antient Law of the Land for their ſitting as Members of the Parliament of *England*, having always been a diſtinct Kingdom from it. 2. That there had been no diſtribution of Powers to elect, as was required by the *Humble Petition and Advice.* The Court would by no means permit the Queſtion to be put in the manner before-mentioned, but moved that it might be thus propoſed in the following Words, *Whether the Houſe thought fit that thoſe returned from* Scotland *ſhould ſit as Members of this Parliament:* By this means turning a Queſtion of Right into Queſtion of Conveniency. However, becauſe our Queſtion was firſt propoſed, we inſiſted that it might alſo be firſt put; and likewiſe moved, that thoſe ſent from *Scotland* and *Ireland* being the Perſons concerned in the Queſtion, might be ordered to withdraw, and not be permitted to ſit Judges of their own Caſe: and this we thought we might with more reaſon demand, becauſe their own Party had already

ready waved the Legality of their Election by the Form of Words they had used in the Question they proposed: But the pretended Members for *Scotland* and *Ireland*, except only Mr. *Swinton* who modestly withdrew, as they had debated their own Case with much confidence, so by the support of the Court they resolved to decide it in their own favour. When we saw our selves thus overpowered by Violence and Number, we had the Question put for leaving out the Words, *By the Law of the Land*; which being carried in the Affirmative; and therefore to be entred in the Journal, we let fall Words in the House to insinuate that they were not a Legal Parliament, having no countenance from the Authority by which they acted: And as to their prudential way of admitting the Scots and Irish on the account of Conveniency, we said it would weaken all that should be done by this Assembly, whose Actions would be weighed and duly considered by those that should come into Power when they were gone: That the Laws of this Assembly, tho it were granted that they were a Legal Parliament, would not bind the People of *Scotland*, who are not governed by the Common Law of *England*, and therefore that it was unreasonable that those chosen by that Nation should have any part in making Laws for the People of *England*; and that it was intolerable, that they who had fought against a Commonwealth should be consulted with in

the framing of our Conſtitution, and ſo vote us out of that with their Tongues, which they could never fight us out of with their Swords. But all our Arguments were anſwered by calling for the Queſtion, which they carried by a great number of Votes, as they did alſo that for admitting thoſe returned for *Ireland*.

The Court having overcome theſe Difficulties, doubted not to obtain the Eſtabliſhment of their Houſe of Lords, which they called the *Other Houſe*; and therefore moved for recognizing them alſo. The Commonwealthsmen propoſed that the Aſſembly would firſt take into their conſideration the Powers wherewith the Other Houſe ſhould be veſted before they proceeded to the Recognition of them, leſt our qualifying them with the Title of a Houſe, and our Approbation of the Perſons that were to fill it, might be a means to procure them more Power than otherwiſe we ſhould think fit to give them. But the Court-Party alledged that the Other Houſe being already conſtituted, it was no more in the Power of the Commons to alter their Eſtabliſhment, than in the Power of the New Houſe to make any Change in that of the Commons. Then we endeavoured to ſhew them the unreaſonableneſs of impoſing ſuch a Houſe upon the Nation, telling them, that in antient times thoſe that came to Parliament ſate there by virtue of the Lands they poſſeſſed, and that he who had twenty Fees, each of twenty Pounds

yearly Rent, might demand his Place in the Houſe as an Earl; and that whoſoever was poſſeſſed of thirteen Fees, whereof one third part was military, had a Right to ſit in the ſame Houſe as a Baron: That this Method continued till the greater Barons finding themſelves overvoted, withdrew into a diſtinct Houſe. But King *Henry* the Third having obtained a Victory againſt the Barons, deprived them of their antient Uſages, and permitted none of them to come to Parliament without a Writ of Summons from him. We ſhewed them that the Houſe of Lords antiently conſiſted of Perſons, on whom the Commons had their Dependance; and being for the moſt part Retainers to them, were clothed in their Liveries: But the Balance being now altered, and the greateſt part of the Lands of *England* devolved upon the Commons, they inſtead of wearing the Lords blew Coats, did now give Wages to moſt of thoſe who pretended to be Members of the other Houſe. But notwithſtanding all that could be ſaid, the Confederacy for them was ſtrong enough to carry all before them, the Cavaleeriſh Party, who were very numerous, joining with them, in expectation that it might prove a good ſtep towards the Return of the former Peerage: So the Queſtion was put, *Whether This Houſe ſhould tranſact with the Other Houſe*, and carried in the Affirmative. We then deſired, that ſeeing This Houſe was undeniably

more Honourable in the Members of it than the Other, and much more in relation to thoſe whom they repreſented, that the Members of This Houſe might not go to them with Meſſages as formerly, unleſs the Members of the New Houſe would reſpectively come to us with their Meſſages; or, that the Maſters in Chancery, who were accuſtomed to be the Lords Meſſengers, might be divided between the two Houſes for that purpoſe: But this alſo was denied, and we were told, *That a Feather might hinder the Motion of a Clock as well as a piece of Iron.* The Subject of our firſt Tranſaction with the Other Houſe was touching a Declaration for a Faſt, which, by ſome Expreſſions in it, *of taking Shame to our ſelves for neglecting to ſettle the Government of the Church, and having permitted ſo many erroneous and heretical Opinions to be divulged,* with others of a like nature, diſcovered plainly in what Mint it was forged. This Declaration being agreed to, it was ordered to be carried to the Other Houſe for their Concurrence by one Mr. *Grove*, who was accompanied by divers young Gentlemen, and many of the Cavalier-Party, all of them attending like ſo many Lackeys at the Bar of the Other Houſe, whilſt the Ceremonies of preſenting it were performed, which were the ſame that had been formerly uſed to the Peers on the like Occaſion. Thoſe of the Other Houſe were wonderfully pleaſed with this Application to them, having waited

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near three Months for it, and having no busi-neſs to do, had conſumed great ſtore of Fire to keep them warm at the Publick Charge: Yet upon the Debate they found not ſo great a Unanimity as in the receiving it; for Mr. *Cromwel*'s Party and the Presbyterians fell violently upon the Independents and ſome of the Army, concerning ſome Clauſes therein inſerted, as they ſaid, by thoſe of their Party. Theſe Diviſions were not confined within the Walls of that Houſe, but broke out in the Army it ſelf, the Officers every where diſcovering their Jealouſies one of another. They were divided into Three Parties, and neither of them much ſuperiour to the Other in number. One Party was known to be well affected to the Commonwealth, and conſiſted chiefly of the following Officers, *viz.* Col. *Aſhfield*, Col. *Lilburn*, Col. *Fitz*, Lieut. Col. *Maſon*, Lieut. Col. *Moſs*, Lieut. Col. *Farley*, Major *Creed*, with divers Captains and other inferior Officers. A ſecond Party was known by the Title of the *Wallingford* Houſe, or Army-Party, who had advanced Mr. *Richard Cromwel* in expectation of governing all as they pleaſed: Of theſe were Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Col. *Deſborough*, Col. *Sydenham*, Col. *Clark*, Col. *Kelſey*, Col. *Berry*, Major *Haines*, Treaſurer *Blackwel*, and ſome others. The Third Party was that of Mr. *Richard Cromwel*, who having caſt off thoſe that had taken the pains to advance him, joined himſelf to Men that were

more ſutable to his Inclinations; ſuch were Col. *Ingoldsby*, Col. *Gough*, Col. *Whalley*, Col. *Howard*, Col. *Goodrick*, Lieut. Col. *Keins*, with many others, and more particularly thoſe that were Officers in the Scots and Iriſh Forces. But his Cabinet Council were the Lord *Broghil*, Dr. *Wilkins*, and Col. *Philip Jones*. The Differences between theſe Parties being already very great, were yet much increaſed by the following Accident. Col. *Whalley*, whom *Richard* had lately made Commiſſary General of the Horſe, meeting with Col. *Aſhfield* in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and diſcourſing with him concerning the Other Houſe, about which their Sentiments were very different, the Commiſſary General fell into ſuch a Paſſion, that he threatned to ſtrike the Colonel, who thereupon daring him to do it, *Whalley* choſe rather to make his Complaint to Mr. *Richard Cromwel*. Col. *Aſhfield* being ſummoned to appear, the pretended Protector threatned to caſhier him as a Mutineer, for ſpeaking in ſuch a manner to a General Officer of the Army. But the Colonel deſiring a fair and equal Hearing by a Council of Officers, he was ordered to attend again. At the time appointed it was contrived that Col. *Gough*, Col. *Ingoldsby*, Col. *Howard*, Lieut. Col. *Goodrick*, and other Creatures of the Court ſhould be preſent to decide the matter in diſpute, who unanimouſly enjoined Col. *Aſhfield* to acknowledg his Fault, and to ask the Commiſſary General's Pardon for the ſame:

But

But their Endeavours herein proved ineffectual, for the Colonel denying that he had offended the Commissary General, refused to desire his Pardon. Another thing happened about the same time that proved very disadvantageous to the Interest of Mr. *Richard Cromwel:* For a certain inferiour Officer having publickly murmured at the advancement of some that had been Cavaliers to Commands in the Army, he was carried to *Whitehal* to answer for the same. Mr. *Richard Cromwel*, besides other reproachful Language, asked him in a deriding manner, whether he would have him prefer none but those that were Godly? *Here*, continued he, *is* Dick Ingoldsby *who can neither pray nor preach, and yet I will trust him before ye all.* Those imprudent, aswell as irreligious Words, so clearly discovering the Frame and Temper of his Mind, were soon published in the Army and City of *London*, to his great prejudice. And from this time all Men among them who made but the least pretences to Religion and Sobriety, began to think themselves unsafe whilst he governed, and thereupon soon formed a Resolution to use their utmost Endeavours to divide the Military from the Civil Power, and to place the Command of the Army in Lieutenant General *Fleetwood.*

The *Wallingford* House Party finding themselves abandoned by Mr. *Richard Cromwel*, and being very desirous, if not to get the whole Power into their Hands, yet at least to preserve what

what they were already poſſeſſed of, and to render themſelves formidable, deſired to renew a Correſpondence with the Commonwealths Men, and to that end ordered Col. *Kelſey*, one of their Members, to let me know that if I would go to *Wallingford* Houſe, I ſhould meet with a friendly Reception from the Lieutenant General and the reſt of the Company. Accordingly I went thither, and perceiving them to agree that the Meaſures then taken would inevitably bring in the Common Enemy, I could not forbear telling them that tho I was heartily ſorry for the ſad Conſequences ſuch a Revolution might bring upon the People of *England*, yet with reſpect to themſelves they had merited whatſoever had already happened, or was juſtly to be feared, in that they had advanced a ſingle Perſon over us, when it was in their Power to put us into a full Poſſeſſion of our Liberties. However, that I preſumed it was not yet too late, if they would reſolve to join themſelves to that part of the Army who were well-affected to the Commonwealth, and who in conjunction with them would in all appearance be enabled to reſtore that Government, which had coſt the Nation ſo much Blood to eſtabliſh. I told them that it would be convenient to give ſome Earneſt of the Sincerity of their Reconciliation with us in order to recover that Truſt and Confidence from the Commonwealth-Party, which was ſo neceſſary to our preſent Undertaking; and to that

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end propoſed that they would ſupport and defend Col. *Aſhfield*, who was like to ſuffer for his Affection to the Commonwealth. They acquainted me that they had already appeared for the Colonel, and promiſed to do him the beſt Offices they could in his Affair, yet expreſſed an unwillingneſs to ruin ſome of their Friends who were of Mr. *Cromwel*'s Party, and particularly named Col. *Whalley*. I replied that if Col. *Whalley* was ſo good a Man to deſerve that conſideration from them, I perſwaded my ſelf he would not oppoſe them; but if he were otherwiſe, they could not juſtly be thought worthy of the Honour of being imployed in the Reſcue and Deliverance of their Country, who ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be ſo much governed by private Intereſts and Engagements. Nothing more of moment paſſed between us in this Converſation, except that they deſired to keep a good Correſpondence with us, and to that end moved that they might ſee Sir *Henry Vane* and Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, or at leaſt be made acquainted with their Opinion concerning the Publick Affairs, and receive their Advice touching their future Proceedings. I told them, it was my Opinion, that thoſe two Gentlemen were too prudent to appear publickly in a matter of this nature, before full ſatisfaction that thoſe of *Wallingford* Houſe were in earneſt, and had done ſomething that ſhould put them paſt all Retreat: yet I promiſed them to inform my ſelf concerning

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their Sentiments, and to advertiſe them from time to time what meaſures they ſhould think moſt proper to be taken. The next day I acquainted Sir *Henry Vane* and Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* with what had paſſed, and they approved the way that was propoſed, and promiſed that when they ſaw it ſeaſonable they would be ready to aſſiſt them in all things tending to the Publick Service. With this Anſwer I went to Col. *Sydenham*, and deſired him to impart it to the reſt of the Company at *Wallingford* Houſe; and then asking him concerning their Proceedings, he told me they deſigned to procure a General Council of Officers to be called, which if they could effect, he hoped it would be of great advantage to their Affairs. After two or three days ſome of the principal of the Party finding Mr. *Cromwel* alone, took the opportunity to perſwade him of the neceſſity of calling a General Council of Officers, in order to preſent ſomething to the Houſe for the Regulation and Maintenance of the Army: he not ſuſpecting their Deſign, conſented to the Propoſition, and having iſſued out an Order to that purpoſe, a General Council of Officers met. Both Parties endeavoured to take advantage of this Meeting, and the lighteſt Veſſels being uſually moſt noiſy, the Iriſh Officers firſt moved that the Council would petition the Houſe that the Protector might be declared General of the Army, as the only means to put an end to the Diviſions

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that were amongſt them: But this Motion found ſo little Approbation, that the Court Party began to doubt of their Succeſs at this Meeting, and had much more reaſon ſo to do, when they heard the Hum that was given upon a Propoſition made to this effect, That it would be more advantagious to the Army, and more conducing to the good of the Nation, if the Military and Civil Power might be placed in different Hands, that the one might be a Balance to the other. The Temper and Inclinations of the Council being thus tried, they were adjourned to another Day. In the mean time the Party of *Wallingford* Houſe beginning to appear more publickly, Col. *Deſborough* and Col. *Sydenham* ſent an Officer to deſire me to give them a Meeting in the Chamber where the Committee for the Army uſually ſate, and to bring with me two or three Perſons, in whoſe Affections to the Publick I had the moſt confidence. Accordingly I made choice of Col. *Dixwel*, and my Couſin Mr. *Wallop*, and with them went to the Place appointed, where our Diſcourſe tended chiefly to give reciprocal Aſſurances of our Reſolution to join together in order to promote the Publick Good, promiſing to uſe our Endeavours to remove all Doubts and Scruples that might remain in any of us, that by a mutual Truſt and Confidence in each other, we might be the better enabled to prevent the Return of the Common Enemy. The ſecond time the General

General Council of Officers met, they went a ſtep farther, and declared their apprehenſions, That *the Common Cauſe was likely to be ruined by the Subtilty and Artifices of thoſe who had never been able to do it by open Force*; and therefore deſired that the Command of the Army might be intruſted to the Care of ſome fit Perſon, in whom they might all confide. This Propoſition found ſo general an Approbation, that it was impoſſible for the Courtiers to reſiſt the Stream, and ſo the Meeting was adjourned to another Day. In the mean time Mr. *Cromwel* and his Party were exceedingly alarm'd at theſe Proceedings; and not daring to truſt to their own Authority in this matter, they contrived it ſo as to engage the Parliament in their Defence. Accordingly ſome Members of the Commons Houſe charged the Council with mutinous Words there ſpoken againſt the Government, and againſt the Reſolutions of the Parliament it ſelf. This Accuſation was ſo well ſeconded, that the Houſe reſolved to diſſipate the Storm, and to that end paſſed a Vote, *That the Officers of the Army ſhould no more meet as a General Council.* Yet for all this they met again at the time appointed, in order to proceed in their Deſign: But the Houſe having notice of it, and being very deſirous to enable Mr. *Cromwel* to make their Vote effectual, declared him to be General of their Army, authorizing him to diſperſe the Officers to their reſpective Charges, to remove from their Commands ſuch as ſhould diſ-

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obey, and to place others in the room of them. They also voted it to be High Treason in the Officers to meet in Council contrary to their Order, and promised to cause the Arrears of those that should yield Obedience, to be forthwith paid, with assurances to take care of them for the future. Mr. *Richard Cromwel* having notice of these Votes, immediately went to the place where the Council of Officers was assembled; and having informed them of what had passed, he told them that he expected their present Obedience. The Officers not being then prepared to dispute his Commands, withdrew themselves; but the chief of them continued their Meetings in a more private manner, making use of all means imaginable to oblige Mr. *Richard Cromwel* to a Compliance with them: but he relying on the Strength of his new Friends, refused to hearken to them; so that they perceived it to be high time to provide for the Security of themselves. Information being given at Court that something extraordinary was in agitation, the Protector *Richard* sent a Message to Lieut. General *Fleetwood* to come to him; but the Messenger returned without an Answer. Then he ordered some of the Guard to be sent for him, but they desired to be excused. The Lieutenant General having notice of this Design, retired to St. *James*'s, where many Officers of the Army resorting to him, it was concluded between them, that the whole Army should rendezvouz at

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St. *James*'s. The News of this Resolution being brought to Mr. *Cromwel*, he also appointed a Counter-Rendezvouz to be at the same time at *Whitehal*. Accordingly Col. *Gough* sent Orders for his Regiment to march to *Whitehal*; but the Major had already prevailed with them to draw to St. *James*'s. Three Troops of Col. *Ingoldsby*'s Horse marched also to St. *James*'s, with part of two more, so that he had only one entire Troop of his Regiment to stand by him. Col. *Whalley*'s Regiment of Horse for the most part left him, and went off to St. *James*'s, which he seeing, opened his Breast, and desired them to shoot him. Col. *Hacker*'s Regiment of Horse being drawn up near *Cheapside*, Mr. *Cromwel* sent a Message to the Colonel, with an Order to require him forthwith to march to *Whitehal*; but he excused himself, and said that he had received Orders from Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* to keep that Post. Many also of *Richard*'s own Guard went to St. *James*'s, and most of those that staid with him, declared they would not oppose any that should come to them by Order from Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*. Thus here was a General without an Army, and divers great Officers without Souldiers; who having boasted of their Interest in the Army, and having thereby led the House into their late rash Proceedings, now being utterly disappointed in their Hopes and Expectations, knew not what to advise, or what to do. About Noon Col. *Desborough* went to Mr. *Richard*

chard Cromwel at *Whitehal*, and told him that if he would diſſolve his Parliament, the Officers would take care of him; but that, if he refuſed ſo to do, they would do it without him, and leave him to ſhift for himſelf. Having taken a little time to conſider of it, and finding no other way left to do better, he conſented to what was demanded. This great Alteration was made with ſo little noiſe, that very few were alarm'd at it. The next Morning the Houſe met, and divers Members made extravagant Motions, rather, as was ſuppoſed, to vent their own Paſſions, than from any hopes of ſucceſs: For whatever were the Reſolutions that had been made by the Court Junto, they could not ſuddenly be brought to a Vote, becauſe the contrary Party was conſiderably increaſed by this change of Affairs. Few of the Houſe knew of the Reſolution taken to put a Period to them, or if they did, were unwilling to take notice of it; ſo that when the Uſher of the Black Rod, who attended the other Houſe, came to let the Serjeant at Arms know that it was the Pleaſure of the Protector that the Houſe of Commons ſhould attend him at the Other Houſe, many of them were unwilling to admit the Serjeant into the Houſe to deliver the Meſſage; but the Commonwealth Party demanded, and obtained that he ſhould give the Houſe an account of what the Gentleman of the Black Rod had ſaid to him. The Aſſembly being under this Con-

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fuſion, adjourned themſelves till eight of the Clock the next Morning; but care was taken to prevent their meeting again by publiſhing a Proclamation declaring them to be diſſolved, by ſetting a Padlock on the Door of the Houſe, and by placing a Guard in the Court of Requeſts, with Orders to refuſe admittance to all thoſe that ſhould demand it. The Army having broken this Aſſembly, were not ſo unanimous in reſolving what ſtep to take next. The chief of them were moſt inclined to patch up ſome Agreement with Mr. *Richard Cromwel*, if they could effect it with advantage to themſelves. In the mean time they permitted the ordinary Courſe of Juſtice to run in his Name, whilſt they themſelves diſpoſed of the Offices of the Army at their Pleaſure, removing ſuch as had appeared active againſt them at the time of their general Rendezvouz, and filling the Vacancies with their own Creatures. They took Major General *Lambert* into their Councils, and reſtored him, together with Col. *Packer*, and Capt. *Gladman*, to their ſeveral Commands. Sir *Charles Coot* went poſt for *Ireland* to carry the News of this great Alteration to Col. *Henry Cromwel*, and to conſult what might be done to continue their Reign. Col. *Henry Ingoldsby* haſtned after him on the ſame account; and ſoon after their arrival, all poſſible care was taken to maintain themſelves. To that end Sir *Charles Coot* was ſent into *Connaught*, Lieutenant Col. *Flower* into *Ulſter*, the Lord

Lord *Broghil* into *Munſter*; and the Troops they moſt confided in were ordered to march towards *Dublin*. This being done, a Council of Officers was called together by Col. *Cromwel*, and a Propoſition made to them that they would declare themſelves ready to ſtand by and defend Mr. *Richard Cromwel*; which they declined to do at that time, deſiring to ſee what Courſe would be taken by the Army in *England* before they ſhould declare themſelves. In *England* there were not wanting ſome who endeavoured to ſupport this tottering Government; but finding themſelves hopeleſs of Succeſs in or about *London*, they reſolved to act their parts farther off. In order to this they made choice of the North, principally by reaſon of the Neighbourhood of *Scotland*, where the Forces were commanded by Colonel *George Monk*, a Perſon of an ambitious and covetous Temper, of looſe, or rather no Principles, and of a vicious and ſcandalous Converſation. The chief Inſtruments made uſe of in this Deſign were the Lord *Falconbridg* and Col. *Howard*, who, tho they had attended on Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* before they began their Journey, to aſſure him of their Reſolutions to acquieſce, yet had both tampered with their Regiments, in order to fit them to their purpoſes, and alſo held a Correſpondence with Col. *Monk*, who was not a little ſuſpected by the confederated Officers of *Wallingford* Houſe.

The *Wallingford*-houſe Party, who had thus poſſeſſed themſelves of the Supreme Power, were every day preſſed from all Parts, and eſpecially from the City of *London*, to reſtore the Long Parliament, as the only means to ſatisfy the People, and to eſtabliſh an equal and juſt Government amongſt us in the way of a Commonwealth. Neither were there wanting divers Officers of the Army, who poſitively declared that they would not reſt contented with any thing leſs. Beſides, the Commonwealth-Party had abſolutely refuſed to hearken to any Propoſitions of Accommodation with Mr. *Rich. Cromwel*, and great Endeavours had been uſed by the Son of the late King in conjunction with the Presbyterians to raiſe Tumults and Inſurrections in *England*. To which may be added, the great Probability that appeared of a Peace to be concluded ſpeedily between *France* and *Spain*, who would then be at leiſure to aſſiſt the Common Enemy. Theſe things being ſeriouſly conſidered by thoſe of *Wallingford*-houſe, and finding themſelves deſtitute of all other means to ſupply the Neceſſities of the Army and Navy, they were compelled at laſt to admit the Debate of the Reſtitution of the Long Parliament amongſt other Propoſitions that were under their Conſideration. They alſo reſtored ſome Officers to their Commands who had ſuffered for their Affections to the Parliament; and amongſt others Col. *Okey* and Col. *Saunders*, who had been caſhiered by *Oli-*

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ver *Cromwel* on that account. The Propoſition of reſtoring the Parliament met with great Oppoſition from many of thoſe that had taſted the Sweetneſs of Power and Profit under the late Uſurpation of the *Cromwels*, and who feared a more equal Diſtribution of things; and therefore they every where affirmed that there was not a ſufficient Number of Members left to make up a Parliament. Hereupon Dr. *John Owen* having deſired me to give him a Liſt of their Names, I delivered him one, wherein I had marked thoſe who had ſat in the Houſe ſince the Year 1648. and were yet alive, amounting to the Number of about one hundred and ſixty. The Doctor having peruſed it, carried it to thoſe at *Wallingford*-houſe, who for the Reaſons before-mentioned appointed a Committee of their Aſſociates to treat with ſome Members of that Parliament, in order to a clearing of ſome Particulars which ſeemed moſt conſiderable to them, before they ſhould proceed to a final Determination in this great Affair. The Place of Meeting was Sir *Henry Vane*'s Houſe at *Charing-Croſs*; the Perſons of and from the Army were Major General *Lambert*, Col. *John Jones*, Col. *Kelſey*, Col. *Berry*, &c. Thoſe of the Parliament were Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, Major *Saloway* and my ſelf. The things demanded by thoſe of the Army were,

1. To be ſecured by an Act of Indemnity for what was paſt.

2. That ſome Proviſion of Power might be made for Mr. *Richard Cromwel*, as well as for the Paiment of his Debts, and future Subſiſtence in a plentiful manner, they having promiſed to take care of him in theſe Particulars.

3. That what ſhould ſtand in need of Regulation both in the Law and Clergy, ſhould be reformed and amended.

4. That the Government of the Nation ſhould be by a Repreſentative of the People, and by a ſelect Senate.

For the firſt, it was thought reaſonable that ſomething of that nature ſhould be done, as well to gratify thoſe who ſhould contribute to our Return, as for our own future Peace and Quiet.

Touching the ſecond Propoſition concerning a Proviſion to be made for Mr. *Richard Cromwel*, we ſaid, that tho the Parliament and Nation had been greatly injured by the Interruption they had received, yet ſeeing thoſe that were at preſent in poſſeſſion of the Power had engaged to make ſome proviſion for him, we were contented for our ſelves, that thoſe Debts which he had contracted on the Publick Account ſhould be paid, that ſo he might be enabled to ſubſiſt comfortably: But that we could by no means conſent to continue any part of his late aſſumed Power to him, neither could we believe that ſuch a Propoſition would ever be hearkned to by the Members of the Parliament if they ſhould come together.

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The third Propoſition was eaſily agreed to, all of us declaring that we would uſe the utmoſt of our Endeavours to rectify and reform whatſoever ſhould appear to be amiſs either in Church or State.

In the fourth Propoſition we found a greater Difficulty, not being all of the ſame Opinion with reſpect to that part of it relating to the *Senate*. Whereupon finding that out of a Deſire to avoid any thing that might prove an Obſtruction to the Return of the Parliament, or poſſibly from an Inclination in ſome to the thing it ſelf, there was an Intention by a general Silence about that Matter, to give them hopes of our Compliance; therefore that they might have no juſt occaſion to ſay hereafter, that we had dealt doubly with them, keeping fair in that Particular before our Admiſſion, and after we were admitted, declaring againſt it, I thought it my Duty to let them know, that if by a ſelect Senate they underſtood a laſting Power, co-ordinate with the Authority of the Peoples Repreſentative, and not choſen by the People, I could not engage to promote the Eſtabliſhment of ſuch a Power, apprehending that it would prove a means to perpetuate our Differences, and make it neceſſary to keep up a Standing Force to ſupport it. But if they propoſed to erect ſuch an Authority only for a ſhort time, and in order to proceed with more Vigour to an equal and juſt Eſtabliſhment of the Commonwealth, I preſumed it might be

very useful, and that the People would readily acquiesce when it should be evident that it was designed to no other end than to prevent them from destroying themselves, and not to enslave them to any Faction or Party. After four or five hours Debate concerning these Particulars, we desired them to consider that whatsoever had been said by us in this Conference, ought only to be taken as proceeding from private Men, and that we durst not presume to promise any thing on the part of the Parliament. However we encouraged them to hope, that if we four joined in proposing any thing in the House for the Publick Good, we might probably bring it to effect. At the Conclusion of our Conversation Major General *Lambert* assured us, that he would represent to the General Council what had passed between us as fairly and with as much Advantage as we could desire. After three or four days the same Company met again at the same place, where those that were employed by the Council of Officers declared the Resolution of themselves, and of those they represented, to be, That the Parliament should be restored, and thereupon pressed us that the Members might meet with all possible Expedition, being perswaded that Delays in a Matter of such Importance might hazard the Success of all. Therefore it was resolved that notice should be given to such Members as were in Town to meet on the Thursday following at Mr. *Lenthal* their Speaker's House,

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and that the Officers of the Army ſhould come thither, and there acquaint us with the Deſires of the Army. At the time appointed about ſixteen of us went to the Speaker's Houſe, and having informed him of the Cauſe of our coming, he began to make many trifling Excuſes, pleading his Age, Sickneſs, and Inability to ſit long. Soon after the Committee from the General Council came, and Major General *Lambert* in the name of the reſt acquainted the Speaker, That in order to reconcile our Differences, and to unite all thoſe that were well affected to the Publick, it was the Deſire of the Army that the Parliament would return to the Diſcharge of their Duty according to the Truſt repoſed in them by the People of *England*, promiſing to ſtand by them, and ſerve them to the utmoſt of their Power. The Speaker, who had been lately at Court, where they had prevailed with him to endeavour to render this Deſign, which they feared above all things, ineffectual; and on the other hand being unwilling to loſe his late acquired Peerage, renewed his former Excuſes, with this Addition, that he was not fully ſatisfied that the Death of the late King had not put an end to the Parliament. To this it was anſwered, that by a Law made by an undiſputed Authority, the Parliament could not be diſſolved without their own Conſent, which had never yet been given. And therefore they deſired him, as he valued the Peace and Happineſs of the Nation, to ſend his

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ters to such Members as were about the Town, requiring them to meet the next Morning in the Lords House, in order to resume their Places in the House of Commons so soon as they might make up a *Quorum*. He replied, that he could by no means do as we desired, having appointed a Business of far greater Importance to himself, which he would not omit on any account, because it concerned the Salvation of his own Soul. We then pressed him to inform us what it might be: To which he answered, that he was preparing himself to participate of the Lord's Supper, which he resolved to take on the next Lord's-day. Upon this it was replied, that Mercy is more acceptable to God than Sacrifice, and that he could not better prepare himself for the foresaid Duty, than by contributing to the Publick Good. But he resolving to perform some part of his Promise to Mr. *Richard Cromwel*, would not be perswaded to send Letters to the Members, as it was desired. So that we found our selves obliged to tell him, that the Service of the Publick had been too long obstructed by the Will of single Persons; and that if he refused to issue out his Letters to the Members, we would cause it to be done by other means: And thereupon gave Orders to such Clerks as we then had there ready for that purpose, to draw Directions for the Messengers who were to summon the Members, and to divide the List amongst them, in such a manner as might best pro-

provide for the Expedition of the Buſineſs. In the Morning about thirty Members being come, and the Number increaſing continually, the Speaker, who had appointed his Spies to bring him word whether we might probably make up a Houſe or not, being informed that we wanted not above three or four, notwithſtanding the Salvation of his Soul, thought it time to come to us, and ſoon after the requiſite Number was compleated. About twelve a Clock we went to take our Places in the Houſe, Mr. *Lenthal* our Speaker leading the way, and the Officers of the Army lining the Rooms for us, as we paſſed through the Painted Chamber, the Court of Requeſts, and the Lobby it ſelf, the principal Officers having placed themſelves neareſt to the door of the Parliament-Houſe, every one ſeeming to rejoice at our Reſtitution, and promiſing to live and die with us. The ſame day the Houſe appointed a Committee of Safety, with Authority to ſeize and ſecure ſuch as might juſtly be ſuſpected of any Deſign to diſturb the Publick Peace, and alſo to remove ſuch Officers of the Army as they ſhould think fit, and to fill their Places with others, till the Parliament ſhould take farther Order therein. The Perſons conſtituted to be of that Committee were Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Col. *Sydenham*, Major *Saloway*, Col. *John Jones*, and my ſelf. Theſe were of the Houſe, and to them were joined from without Major General *Lambert*, Col.

Col. *Desborough*, and Col. *Berry*. The time appointed for the Duration of their Power was, if I miſtake not, eight days, by which time it was ſuppoſed the Houſe would be able to conſtitute a Council of State, to take care of Affairs of that nature. The Parliament referred to the Committee to give notice to foreign Ambaſſadors reſiding in *England*, and to the Miniſters of this Nation employed in foreign Parts, of their Return to the Exerciſe of their Authority. They likewiſe directed them to inform themſelves what Alliances *England* had abroad, and to report the State of that Affair to the Houſe. They impowered them alſo to make Inquiry into the Miſcarriages of Officers during the late Confuſions, to remove ſuch as they found guilty, to put others in their Places, and then to lay the whole Matter before the Parliament for their Approbation. To the Members of the Houſe that were of the Committee, they added Mr. *Scott*; and then ordered them to take a view of all the Civil Officers of the Nation, authorizing them to diſplace thoſe that ſhould be found unfit to ſerve, and to place others in the room of them, and to report what they had done to the Houſe. Writs and all Proceedings at Law were directed to run as formerly in the Name of the *Keepers of the Liberties of* England. And leſt the Judges who were Members of the Houſe might by their Influence there prevent the intended Reformation of the Law, it was reſolved that no Mem-

Member of Parliament ſhould be a Judg in any Court. Information being given to the Committee that Col. *Norton* Governour of *Portſmouth* had let fall ſome Expreſſions of Diſcontent, they knowing the Place to be of great Importance, ſent down Col. *Whetham*, who formerly had been Governour thereof, to take poſſeſſion of the Government of it; at which tho the Colonel was much diſturbed, yet in a Letter to me written by him ſoon after, he aſſured me he ſhould be very well ſatisfied, if we would proceed to the Settlement of an equal Commonwealth. A Committee for the Sea-Affairs was alſo appointed by the Parliament, who being informed of the Diſaffection of ſome that managed the Buſineſs of the Admiralty to the preſent Government, the Houſe was earneſtly preſſed to paſs a Vote for excluding them from that Employment; but at laſt they were prevailed with to refer it to the Committee which they had already appointed for nominating Officers, to propoſe ſome for that Charge. The Committee having reſolved to acquaint the Perſons they deſigned to propoſe to the Parliament, with their Intentions beforehand, demanded of Col. *Kelſey* if he would accept of it, and eaſily obtained his Conſent, tho they told him they could not promiſe him any other Salary than what he ſhould merit by a diligent Performance of the Duties of the Place. The ſame Propoſition being made to Col. *Clark*, he told them, he would conſider well

well before he would engage so far with the present Authority. This Carriage of the Colonel caused me to suspect that the Army had still some Design on foot, more than appeared openly; and I was the rather induced to this Suspicion by his Relation to *Thurloe* the late Secretary, and his Familiarity with Col. *Desborough*; especially considering that the way was still open to reconcile themselves to Mr. *Richard Cromwel*, who yet remained at *Whitehall* without making any Preparations for his Removal. The Officers also under colour of inquiring into the Miscarriages of the late Governments, and modelling the Affairs of the Army, had frequent Meetings, wherein greater Care was taken to maintain their own Faction, than to provide for the Publick Service. It was very evident by the Lists of Officers presented by them to the Committee, that the *Wallingford*-house Party was not so averse to the Creatures of Mr. *Richard Cromwel*, as they were to those who had been Sufferers on the account of the Commonwealth. So that Major General *Overton*, Col. *Rich*, Col. *Alured*, and Capt. *Bremen*, were not without great difficulty received into the Service. The Regiment of Horse that had been commanded by Col. *Howard* was given to Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, and a day or two after it was proposed that I should be Colonel of that which had been commanded by Col. *Gough*; Sir *Henry Vane* and Major *Saloway* earnestly pressing me to accept of it. But being un-

unwilling to intermeddle with any Employment of Advantage under the Parliament, that I might give my Voice in the Houſe with more Freedom and Impartiality, I deſired to be excuſed. Having taken this Reſolution, Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* came to me and told me, that unleſs I did accept it, he would quit the Regiment he commanded, which he proteſted to have taken, not with a Deſign to make any Advantage of it, being reſolved not to receive any Pay, but only to have a Right to be preſent at the Councils of War, whereby he might be enabled to do ſome Good, and poſſibly to prevent more Miſchief. Having weighed theſe things, and conſidered that our greateſt Danger was likely to ariſe from the Army, the Principal Officers of which had been debauched from their Duty by *Oliver Cromwel*, and had learn'd their own Strength when they obſtructed his Deſign to be King; That they had placed his Son in the ſame Power after his Death, and pulled him down again upon their Diſlike of his Government, I conſented to undertake the Command of the Regiment that was offered to me. The Parliament having many important Affairs under their Conſideration, were not yet at leiſure to conſtitute a Council of State, and therefore continued the Powers granted to the Committee of Safety for a longer time, and declared their Intentions to be, that the Nation ſhould be governed in the way of a Commonwealth, without a King,

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ſingle Perſon, or Houſe of Lords. They alſo ordered that *Whitehall* ſhould be cleared with all convenient ſpeed for the uſe of the Publick; that care ſhould be taken of the Goods and Furniture belonging to it, and that the Committee ſhould take care that Mr. *Richard Cromwell* might have notice of theſe their Reſolutions. In the mean time the Parliament took into their Conſideration what Powers and Inſtructions were requiſite for the Council of State, and voted their Number to conſiſt of thirty one, whereof twenty one to be of the Parliament, and ten to be of ſuch Perſons as were not Members of the Houſe. And the better to ſhew the Conſideration the Parliament had for ſome eminent Perſons who were not of their Body, and principally for the Officers of the Army, it was firſt agreed, That the Lord Preſident *Bradſhaw*, the Lord *Fairfax*, Major General *Lambert*, Col. *Desborough*, Col. *Berry*, Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, and Sir *Horatio Townſend*, ſhould be Members of the Council. The next Morning the Parliament proceeded to the Election of twenty one of their Members to be of the Council of State, according to their former Reſolution, and choſe Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Lieut. Gen. *Fleetwood*. Major *Saloway*, Col. *Morley*, Mr. *Thomas Chaloner*, Col. *Algernon Sidney*, Mr. *Henry Nevil*, Col. *Walton*, Col. *Dixwel*, Mr. *Wallop*, Chief Juſtice *St. Johns*, Mr. *Thomas Scott*, Col. *Thomſon*, Mr. *Robert Reynolds*, Col. *Sydenham*, Col. *John*

John Jones, the Lord Commiſſioner *Whitlock*, Sir *James Harrington*, Col. *Downes*, and my ſelf. Then to compleat the Number of ten, who were to conſiſt of Perſons that were not Members, they choſe the Lord *Warriſton*, Sir *Robert Honywood*, and Mr. *Joſias Berners*. The Officers of the Army were not at all pleaſed with this Election, perceiving they ſhould not be permitted to act Arbitrarily, as they deſired, and therefore ſeldom came to the Council; and when they condeſcended to come, carried themſelves with all imaginable Perverſeneſs and Inſolence. They ſcrupled to take the Oath *to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth, in oppoſition to* Charles Stuart, *or any ſingle Perſon*, which the Parliament had appointed to be taken by every Member of the Council before he took his Place. And becauſe they were aſhamed to own themſelves diſſatisfied with the Subſtance of the Oath, they pretended to be unwilling to take any; yet profeſſing a Readineſs to promiſe as much as the Oath required. This Diſtinction ſeemed very nice to moſt of us; but that there might be no Difference about Ceremonies, the Parliament was prevailed with to grant Liberty to the Council to alter the Engagement into ſuch a Form as might give them Satisfaction. Notwithſtanding all which Condeſcenſion they were hardly perſwaded to take it, and when they had done it, they ſeldom came to diſcharge their Duty at the Board. Things being in this poſture, the

Enemies to the Government thought it a proper time to attempt something before a good Agreement might be made between the Parliament and Army: In order to which great Numbers of Arms were bought up by them in *London*, whereof Notice was given to a Committee of the Council of State. A Cheſt filled with Arms was ſent to the Houſe of one Mr. *Overbury* of *Gloceſterſhire*, of which he gave notice to Capt. *Crofts*, who commanded the County Troop; and the Captain having cauſed the Trunk to be opened, found in it ten Caſe of common Piſtols, one fine Pair with the Name of one *Harman Barnes* the Maker upon them, together with a compleat Sute of Armor. The Committee of the Council of State ſent for the ſaid *Harman Barnes*, and upon Examination found him to have been Gunſmith to Prince *Rupert*, and ſo confuſed in his Anſwers, that we thought it neceſſary to ſecure him and his Arms, amounting to the Number of two hundred Carabines, and as many pair of Piſtols ready fixed, beſides a great Number unfixed, tho he had affirmed to us that he had no more than thirty pair of Piſtols in his Houſe. The Cavalier Party having boaſted to divers Perſons that Mr. *How* of *Gloceſterſhire* had given them Aſſurances of his Service, the Committee ſent for him to appear before them, which he did, and in his Examination acknowledged, that he had a certain number of Arms in his Houſe which he had purchaſed at the time of the late

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Diſpute between *Richard*'s and the Common-wealth Party, that he might be ready to ſerve the Publick on that occaſion, if there had been any neceſſity; and had given aſſurance to Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* and me of the ſame good Intentions. Hereupon tho I could not but juſtify the Committee in ſending for him, on account of the Informations we had received, yet I thought my ſelf obliged to do him Juſtice, and accordingly informed the Committee, that on the day of the Diſſolution of *Richard*'s Convention, Mr. *How* came to me in *Weſtminſter Hall*, and aſſured me of his Affection to the Commonwealth, and that whenſoever I ſhould ſignify to him that there was occaſion for his ſervice, he would be ready to hazard both Life and Eſtate in the defence of it. The Council being ſatisfied with this Teſtimony, gave preſent Orders for his Diſcharge. In the mean time the *Wallingford*-Houſe Party not forgetting their Deſign, drew an Addreſs to the Parliament, and preſented it by the Hands of the chief Officers of the Army, that ſo it might either have a greater Influence upon the Houſe, or, if it prevailed not there, that it might be a means to unite them all againſt the Parliament. The principal Heads of the Addreſs were, that thoſe who had acted under the late Power might be indemnified by an Act of Parliament; that Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* might be appointed Commander in chief of the Army; that the Debts of the Protector might

be satisfied, and that he might have ten thousand Pounds by year added to his Revenue; that the Government of the Nation might consist of a Representative of the People, and of a select Senate; that care might be taken for the Paiment of the Army, and that Liberty of Conscience might be secured to all such who professed Faith in Jesus Christ, and were not scandalous in their Conversation. The Parliament gave them for answer, That they would take their Desires into their speedy consideration, and give them satisfaction therein as far as should be possible. And that for the future no Man might have an opportunity to pack an Army to serve his Ambition, as had formerly been practised, a Bill was prepared and brought in, constituting the seven Persons following, *viz.* Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, Major General *Lambert*, Col. *Desborough*, Col. *Berry*, Sir *Henry Vane*, and my self, to be Commissioners for the Nomination of Officers to be presented to the consideration and approbation of the Parliament. Another Bill was brought in to constitute Lieut. General *Fleetwood* Commander in Chief, and it was resolved that his Commission should continue during the present Session, or till the Parliament should take farther Order therein; and instead of authorizing the Lieutenant General to grant Commissions to such Officers as should be appointed by the Parliament, it was ordered that the said Commissi-

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ons ſhould be ſubſcribed by the Speaker, and received from his Hands, by which it was endeavoured to bring the Military Sword under the Power of the Civil Authority, as it ought to be in a free Nation. But obſerving that theſe things were greatly diſliked by the Officers, and knowing how much it imported the very being of our Cauſe to maintain a good Correſpondence between the Parliament and Army, I earneſtly preſſed the Houſe not to inſiſt upon the Reſtrictions before-mentioned, eſpecially conſidering that they conſiſted rather in Form than Subſtance: for tho the time of a Commiſſion be not expreſly limited, yet it can laſt no longer than during the pleaſure of thoſe that give it; and if it ſhould happen to be uſed to the Deſtruction of thoſe from whom it was received, it actually puts a Period to it ſelf. Neither could it be thought very material, whether a Commiſſion was ſigned by one Perſon or another, ſo long as it was derived from the ſame Authority. Sir *Henry Vane* and Major *Saloway* were of the ſame Opinion, but Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, Col. *Sidney*, Mr. *Nevil*, and the Majority of the Houſe, carried it for the ſaid Limitations and Reſtrictions; and many of the Houſe began to entertain a hard Opinion of me on the account of this Moderation, as if I had eſpouſed the Intereſt of the Army againſt the Parliament. The two Acts being paſſed, it was ordered that notice of them ſhould be given

to the Army, and that the Houſe expected that the Commander in Chief, with the reſt of the Officers approved by the Parliament, ſhould take their Commiſſions from the hands of the Speaker as he ſate in the Chair. Hereupon a Council of Officers being ſummoned to Col. *Desborough*'s Houſe to conſult about this Affair, Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* deſired me not to fail to meet him there. The Council being met, divers Officers, and eſpecially thoſe of the firſt Rank, openly manifeſted their diſcontent againſt the Clauſes before-mentioned; Major General *Lambert* ſaying that they implied a Diffidence of the Army, and that they had no aſſurance that the Parliament would continue them in their Imployments, which, he ſaid, was contrary to the Promiſes made to them before the Reſtitution of the Parliament. It was anſwered, that no private Perſons either could, or had promiſed more than to uſe their Endeavours in the Houſe to procure certain things to be done, and that whatſoever had been ſo promiſed by any of us, had been fully effected by the Parliament: For they had continued the Commands of the Army in ſuch Hands as had been agreed on; neither was there any colour for them to ſuſpect any Intention to alter the ſame. They were told that the Parliament could not juſtly be blamed, if they endeavoured to preſerve their Authority, that had been ſo eminently violated of late; That it was our Duty to judg favourably of the

the Actions of the Parliament, and especially since they had given such evident Demonstration to the World that they designed not to perpetuate their Authority by a late Vote that had passed with the two Acts complained of, *That the Parliament should be dissolved in the Month of* May *next ensuing:* Whereby they had engaged themselves, as they tendered their own Preservation, to make a speedy Provision for the Settlement of the Government, and the Security of the Common Cause, in which the Officers of the Army were as much concerned as any Persons whatsoever. We desired them to consider well of how great importance it was to the People of *England* to preserve a good Correspondence between the Parliament and the Army at this time, when the Common Enemy had no hopes left but in our Divisions; that they would not gratify their Enemies, nor discourage their Friends, by entertaining groundless Suspicions and Jealousies of those whose Interest was the same with theirs. But notwithstanding all that could be said, the Dissatisfaction of the chief Officers, who had another Game to play, still remained, and their Confidence to carry all before them was so great, that Col. *Desborough* openly said, that he accounted the Commission he had already to be as good as any the Parliament could give, and that he would not take another. Yet for all this ruffling Insolence of the chief Officers of the Army, who thought they could have influenced

all the reſt, Col. *Hacker* with the Officers of his Regiment came the next Morning by the Perſwaſion of Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, to the Parliament Houſe, and received their Commiſſions from the Speaker according to the Directions of the Act. The next day I was attended by the Officers of my Regiment, and we altogether received our Commiſſions in the ſame manner. The Ice being thus broke by Col. *Hacker* and me, the reſt of the Officers began to conſider better of the matter, and divers of them growing more moderate, came alſo, and took out their Commiſſions. Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* received three Commiſſions, whereof one was for a Regiment of Horſe, another for a Regiment of Foot, and the third appointing him to be Commander in Chief, with the Limitations above mentioned, and a Clauſe requiring him to obey ſuch Orders as he ſhould receive from the Parliament, or the Council of State.

Mr. *Richard Cromwel* not removing from *Whitehal*, tho he received a Meſſage to that end, Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, Mr. *Scot* and I, according to the Command we had from the Parliament, attended him there, and received for anſwer that he would do it with all convenient ſpeed. But the Parliament being impatient of his Delays, ſent the Chief Juſtice *St. Johns*, and another Perſon to require him to give them a poſitive Anſwer touching his Removal, which he did to their ſatisfaction,

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declaring his Acquieſcence in the Providence of God, and his Reſolution, not only to ſubmit to the Authority of the Parliament, but alſo to uſe the beſt of his Endeavours to perſwade all thoſe in whom he had any Intereſt to do ſo likewiſe. The Parliament having received his Anſwer, ordered 2000 Pounds to be preſently paid him to enable him to remove, and paſſed a Reſolution to pay thoſe Debts, which it was ſaid he had contracted on the Publick Account.

The Army in *Ireland* being informed that the Parliament was returned to the exerciſe of their Authority, ſent over Commiſſioners to them to propoſe divers things relating as well to the Civil as Military Government of that Nation. The Council of State having heard their Propoſitions, prepared ſuch of them as they thought reaſonable for the conſideration of the Parliament, in particular thoſe concerning the eſtabliſhment of the Army in the poſſeſſion of thoſe Lands which had been aſſigned them in Paiment of their Arrears; as alſo to confirm the Adventurers and others in the poſſeſſion of theirs, as far as might conſiſt with the Rules of Juſtice. Then the Parliament proceeded to put the adminiſtration of Affairs there into ſuch Hands as they could beſt confide in, declaring the Government ſhould be again managed by Commiſſioners, as it had been formerly; and having nominated the Perſons to ſerve in that Imployment, they ordered the Council of State to draw up Inſtructi-

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ons for them, and to report them to the Houſe, together with whatſoever elſe they ſhould think neceſſary to be done there. They reſolved that Col. *Henry Cromwel* ſhould be required to come over to give an account of the State of Things in *Ireland*, and empowered the Commiſſioners, or any two of them, to take care of the Safety of that Nation till farther Order.

The Committee of Safety having diſpatched a Meſſenger to our Fleet in the *Sound* before the Election of the Council of State, to acquaint them with the Reſtitution of the Parliament, the Officers of the ſeveral Ships aſſembled, and ſent an Acknowledgment of their Authority, with all poſſible Demonſtrations of Satisfaction. Notwithſtanding which, being highly ſenſible of how great Importance the Sea-Affairs are to this Nation, we ordered ſix Frigats to be equipped with all Diligence, and gave the Command of them to *Lawſon*, making him at the ſame time Vice-Admiral of the Fleet. And this we did as well to prevent an Invaſion from *Flanders*, with which the Cavalier Party threatned us, as to balance the Power of *Montague*'s Party, who we knew was no Friend to the Commonwealth. We treated alſo with Myn Heer *Nieuport*, Ambaſſador from the States of *Holland*, that a good Correſpondence might be maintained between the two Commonwealths, and that an Accord might be made between the two Kings of *Denmark* and *Sweden*, who were then Enemies, by the

the Interpoſition of the two States, who agreeing upon equitable Terms, might be able to impoſe them on the Refuſer. And this we were in hopes to accompliſh the rather, becauſe neither the Dutch nor we pretended to any more than a Freedom of paſſing and repaſſing the *Sound*, which could not well be, if the Command of it were in the hands of either of thoſe Princes. The Dutch Ambaſſador ſeemed very deſirous to finiſh the Treaty, but by ſeveral Demands which he made in the behalf of their Merchants, delay'd it ſo long, that our Agent in *Holland* had already concluded an Agreement with the States, whereby the two Commonwealths became engaged to compel that King that ſhould refuſe to accept of the Conditions which they thought juſt and reaſonable. In order to put this Reſolution in execution, the States of *Holland* appointed their Plenipotentiaries, and we on our part did the ſame, ſending thither Col. *Algernon Sidney*, Sir *Robert Honywood*, and one Mr. *Boon* a Merchant, to that end. The Parliament having taken ſome meaſure of Care of foreign Affairs, began to make proviſion for the better execution of Juſtice in *England*, and eſtabliſhed Judges in the Upper Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer; but deſigning the Reformation of the Practice of the Law, they for the preſent nominated no more than were ſufficient to make a *Quorum* in each Court. The Lord Preſident *Bradſhaw*, Serjeant *Fountain*, and Serjeant *Tyrrell*,

rell, were made Commissioners of the Broad Seal. And that the Justices of the Peace throughout *England* might be fitly qualified for that Employment, the House referred to the Committee of Nominations for Civil Offices, the Consideration of that Matter; but finding this Work to be full of Difficulty, and attended with much Envy, the Parliament ordered the Members for each County to agree on a List of such Persons as they should think most proper for that Office, and to set their hands to each List. And in case of any Difference of Opinion, the House, upon hearing both Parties, determined the Matter. Col. *Zanchey*, Col. *Laurence*, Mr. Auditor *Roberts*, and Major *Wallis*, by the Advice of Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, drew up a List of Officers for the Army in *Ireland*, and presented it to the Committee of Nominations, and agreed to make it their Request that I might be appointed Commander in Chief of those Forces; whether from an Opinion that I should thereby be rendred less able to oppose their Designs, than by continuing my Attendance in Parliament, or that none of their Grandees could be spared from their Cabals at *Wallingford*-house, is uncertain. But true it is, that no Man was less desirous than my self, that I should have that Command, well knowing the Envy and Difficulties that accompanied it, and having ample Experience how much easier it was to undertake great Employments, than duly to perform the

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Functions of them. Yet finding the Officers of *Ireland*, the Committee of Nominations, the Council of State, and the Parliament all concurring to design me for that Post, I thought my self obliged in Duty to accept it: Tho I was resolved not to suffer my self to be banished thither, as I had been formerly by *Oliver Cromwel*, but to return to *England* as soon as I should have done what might be necessary for the Security of that Country, to contribute my Endeavours towards the Settlement of a just and equitable Constitution of Government at home, and to prevent those Mischiefs which I perceived the Ambition of the Army to be bringing upon us. Having opened my self freely concerning these Particulars to Sir *Henry Vane*, it was obtained, that the Parliament after they had voted me to be Commander in Chief of the Forces in *Ireland*, passed likewise an Order, That when I had put the Affairs of that Country into a posture of Security, I should have Liberty to return to *England*. It was my Design at the next sitting of the Committee of Nominations to move them to propose that Sir *Henry Vane* might succeed me as Colonel of that Regiment which the Parliament had entrusted me with, that he might thereby be enabled to discover and prevent the ill Designs of the Army. But the Presbyterian Party in the House, immediately after the Parliament had appointed me for the Service of *Ireland*, moved that Col. *Herbert Morley* might be made Colonel

nel of my Regiment, and carried it. Divers Officers who had faithfully ſerved the Commonwealth, and amongſt them Col. *Rich*, were reſtored to their Commands, tho not without Difficulty: And that Major General *Lambert* might be altogether inexcuſable if he ſhould act againſt the Parliament, they granted him a Regiment of Horſe and one of Foot. Then they gave Order for raiſing a Troop of Horſe for their own Guard, and gave the Command of it to Col. *Alured*, who had been a great Sufferer on the account of the Commonwealth, and very active for the Reſtitution of the Parliament. The Troop conſiſted of about one hundred and thirty choſen Men, nominated by the Committee, and approved by the Houſe. Col. *Alured* ſcrupled to accept it, thinking it not equivalent to a Regiment of Horſe which he had commanded, tho the Pay was appointed to be the ſame. Being in this Diſpoſition, he came to me, and having propoſed his Doubts, I took the liberty to inform him, as well as I could, of the Honour and Uſefulneſs of that Employment; and having aſſured him that if it were offered to me, the Circumſtances of my Affairs permitting, I would prefer it before any other Command, he was contented to accept it. Our Treaſury was ſo low, through the male-Adminiſtration of the late Governments, that tho our Plenipotentiaries to the two Northern Crowns had received their Inſtructions, yet they were obliged to ſtay a Fort-

Fortnight longer before they could receive the Sum of two thouſand Pounds which had been ordered for the Expences of their Voyage, the Taxes coming in but ſlowly, and the City of *London* terrified with the Reports of an expected Inſurrection, being very backward in advancing Money. Yet conſidering the great Importance of the Town of *Dunkirk* to the Trade and Navigation of *England*, the Parliament took the firſt occaſion they could to ſend one Month's Pay for the Gariſon there, to Col. *Lockhart* Governour of that Place, with Inſtructions to go on with the Fortifications, and to have a vigilant Eye as well upon the French as the Spaniard. They ordered him to draw the Regiments that had been lent to the King of *France* as near to the Town as he could, being under ſome fears that they might be either detained by the French, or obſtructed in their Return by the Spaniſh Forces. And having received Information that the Treaty between thoſe two Nations went proſperouſly on, they gave him Commiſſion, when he had provided for the Security of *Dunkirk*, to go to the French Court as Agent from the Parliament; and if he found Encouragement from Cardinal *Mazarin*, to take upon him the Title and Character of Ambaſſador, and then to repair to the Place where the Treaty was carrying on between the two Crowns. Col. *Lockhart*, according to his Inſtructions, having put all things into a good Condition at *Dunkirk*, and drawn the Engliſh

Regi-

Regiments out of the French Quarters, departed for *Paris*, and being arrived, was very well received by the Cardinal, and from thence went to St. *John de Luz*, which was the Place of the Treaty. In the mean time the Parliament being very desirous to restore the Trade with *Spain* to this Nation, and being informed from *Flanders* that the Spanish Ministers were willing to come to an Accommodation with us, caused divers Subjects of *Spain*, whom *Cromwel* had made Prisoners, to be released, and would not suffer any Act of Hostility to be used against those of that Nation.

The Act of Indemnity had been read twice, and the House was as desirous to dispatch it as their Affairs would permit; yet the necessary time spent in the Debate and Consideration of it was made great use of to incense the Army against the Parliament: Divers warm Motions were made for excepting some Persons from the benefit of it, who had gotten great Estates by their compliance with the Usurpation of *Oliver Cromwel*, and abetting the advancement of his Son, and also to except those who had sold Places, and received Money for them; but the Chief Justice *St. Johns* had such an Influence upon the House, that he procured a Clause to be inserted in the Bill to indemnify him for such Offices as he had sold in *Cromwel*'s time: which Partiality I appeared against so earnestly, that I made him thereby my declared Enemy, tho I never had expected any sincere Friendship from

from him, becauſe he knew me to be zealous for the Regulation of the Practice of the Law, and himſelf an Obſtructer of all Endeavours to that end. The two Commiſſions of Major General *Lambert* being prepared and ſigned by the Speaker, he attended at the Door of the Houſe in order to receive them; and being admitted, he was informed by the Speaker, That the Parliament having a good opinion of his Abilities and Fidelity, had intruſted him with the Command of one Regiment of Horſe and one of Foot, for which he then by their Order delivered the Commiſſions to him. The Major General anſwered, That as his own Inclination and Intereſt led him to promote the Service of the Parliament, ſo the Obligation they laid on him by ſo great a Truſt ſhould doubly excite him to Fidelity and Obedience to their Commands. And I hope he then intended what he promiſed, tho he afterwards proved an Inſtrument of much Diſorder and Confuſion amongſt us. Mr. *Henry Nevil*, a Perſon of ſingular Affection to the Commonwealth, moved the Houſe that Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* might be made Ranger of St. *James*'s Park, and this he did that no occaſion of obliging the Army might be omitted; which Motion was readily conſented to by the Parliament: And indeed the Lieutenant General, had he not been too much influenced by his Wife's Relations, who pretending that he had injured his Brother-in-Law by con-

tributing to lay him aside, continually pressed him to irregular Proceedings, in order to make him some satisfaction, might have proved a Person as fit to command the Forces in Chief, as the Parliament could have chosen: Tho I am not able to see how he could have served him better, unless peradventure by not consenting to his Advancement to the Protectorship, than to procure him to be removed with so little Detriment to himself and Reflection on his Family; considering how great a Trust his Father had betrayed, what Dishonour he had brought on the Nation, what Hardships he had put upon many good Men, to the hazard of that just Cause which had cost so much Blood and Treasure of the People.

At this time the Opinions of Men were much divided concerning a Form of Government to be established amongst us. The great Officers of the Army, as I said before, were for a select standing Senate to be joined to the Representative of the People. Others laboured to have the Supream Authority to consist of an Assembly chosen by the People, and a Council of State chosen by that Assembly to be vested with the Executive Power, and accountable to that which should next succeed, at which time the Power of the said Council should determine. Some were desirous to have a Representative of the People constantly sitting, but changed by a perpetual Rotation. Others proposed that there might be joined to the

the Popular Assembly, a select Number of Men in the nature of the Lacedemonian *Ephori*, who should have a Negative in things, wherein the Essentials of the Government should be concerned, such as the Exclusion of a single Person, touching Liberty of Conscience, Alteration of the Constitution, and other things of the last Importance to the State. Some were of opinion that it would be most conducing to the Publick Happiness, if there might be two Councils chosen by the People, the one to consist of about three hundred, and to have the Power only of debating and proposing Laws; the other to be in number about one thousand, and to have the Power finally to resolve and determine: every Year a third part of each Council to go out, and others to be chosen in their places. For my own part, if I may be permitted to declare my Opinion, I could willingly have approved either of the two latter Propositions, presuming them to be most likely to preserve our just Liberties, and to render us a happy People.

Some Members of the Council of State proposed at the Board, that the Parliament should be moved to appoint twenty of their own Number, and ten of the Principal Officers of the Army to consider of a Form of Government to be reported to the Parliament; and if they should approve it, that then the whole Army should be drawn out, and declare their Consent to it: which Proposition, tho it seemed

then to find a general Approbation, yet proved abortive, and the Parliament themſelves paſſed a Reſolution that on every Wedneſday the Houſe ſhould go into a grand Committee to conſider of that matter.

In the Act of Indemnity a Clauſe had been inſerted to reſtrain the Favour of the Parliament in regard of thoſe who under the Uſurpation had received exorbitant and double Salaries, to the great diſcontent of divers conſiderable Perſons, who feared they might be concerned in it. In particular, Major General *Lambert* meeting me the next Morning after the Act was paſſed, moſt bitterly exclaimed againſt it, ſaying amongſt other things, that tho there was no Security given by the Act to indemnify them for what they had done, yet the Parliament had taken care to make them liable to be queſtioned for whatſoever they had received. To which I anſwered, that in my opinion, all the Souldiers were indemnified for what they had received, and that if the Parliament ſhould ever make uſe of that Clauſe, it would only be againſt thoſe who had enriched themſelves by the Ruin of the Commonwealth, and had oppoſed the Return of the Parliament to the exerciſe of their Authority; that I perſwaded my ſelf he could not think that ſuch a ſort of Men deſerved the Favour and Conſideration of the Parliament equally with thoſe who had contributed towards their Reſtitution. Having ſaid this, Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* joined us,

 and

and the Converſation continuing on the ſame Subject, Sir *Arthur* affirmed, That the Act was as full and comprehenſive as could juſtly be deſired; but the Major General ſaid that it ſignified nothing, and that it left them ſtill at Mercy. You are, ſaid Sir *Arthur*, only at the Mercy of the Parliament, who are your good Friends. I know not, ſaid *Lambert*, why they ſhould not be at our Mercy as well as we at theirs. Theſe Words, as they ſounded very harſh to my Ears, ſo they did confirm me in the ſuſpicion I had of the Deſign that was then on foot: and tho Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* contented himſelf only to ſhake his Head, becauſe divers Officers were there preſent; yet meeting me the next Morning in the Speaker's Chamber, he told me, that if the two Regiments had not been already given to Major General *Lambert*, he ſhould never have them with his conſent.

The Order requiring Col. *Cromwel* to come over from *Ireland*, and to give an account of Affairs there, being ſignified to him, he retired to a Houſe called *the Phenix*, belonging to the Chief Governour of *Ireland*, leaving Col. *Thomas Long* in the Caſtle of *Dublin*; whether with an intention of keeping it, I am not aſſured: But the Commiſſioners ſuſpecting the worſt, and being very deſirous to be poſſeſſed of it, imployed Sir *Hardreſs Waller* to ſurprize the Place, who finding the Power of Col. *Cromwel* to decline, and that of the Parliament to increaſe, was very willing to attempt it, and

being ready to enter by a Poſtern into the Caſtle, the Place was immediately ſurrendred to him. Col. *Cromwel* perceiving it to be to no purpoſe to ſtay longer in *Ireland*, departed for *London*, and being arrived, acquainted me with the time that he deſigned to attend the Council of State, and deſired me that I would be preſent; but I could not: For the Houſe of *Hampton Court* having been ordered to be ſold that day, which Place I thought very convenient for the Retirement of thoſe that were imployed in Publick Affairs, when they ſhould be indiſpoſed, in the Summer-Seaſon, I reſolved to endeavour to prevent the Sale of it, and accordingly procured a Motion to be made at the ſitting down of the Houſe to that end, which took effect as I deſired. For this I was very much blamed by my good Friend Sir *Henry Vane*, as a thing which was contrary to the Intereſt of a Common-wealth: He ſaid that ſuch Places might juſtly be accounted amongſt thoſe things that prove Temptations to Ambitious Men, and exceedingly tend to ſharpen their Appetite to aſcend the Throne. But for my own part, as I was free from any ſiniſter Deſign in this Action, ſo I was of opinion, that the Temptation of Soveraign Power would prove a far ſtronger motive to aſpire by the Sword to gain the Scepter, which when once attained, would ſoon be made uſe of to force the People to ſupply the Want of ſuch an Accommodation. Col. *Henry Martin* moved at the

ſame time that the Chappel belonging to *Somerſet-houſe* might not be ſold, becauſe it was the Place of Meeting for the French Church, and this Requeſt was alſo granted; but the Houſe it ſelf was ſold for the Sum of ten thouſand Pounds. Then it was moved that *Whitehal* might be alſo ſold, and it was ſaid that threeſcore thouſand Pounds might be had for it, in order to erect new Buildings on the Ground where it ſtands, but nothing was done farther in this matter.

And now I began to think it time to haſten my Journey to *Ireland*, where my Station was aſſigned to me for ſome time; and in order to my Departure I received four Commiſſions from the hands of the Speaker, as the Parliament had directed. By the firſt I was appointed Commander in Chief of all the Forces in *Ireland*; the ſecond was for a Regiment of Horſe; the third was for a Regiment of Foot, and by the fourth I was made Lieutenant General of the Horſe. Which laſt Commiſſion being read before the Committee of Nominations by Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, who in this whole Affair of regulating the Army had ſerved the Parliament for Secretary without any Salary, Col. *Desborough* deſired that it might be explained how far it ſhould extend, ſuſpecting that it might intrench upon the Command of the Horſe in *England* and *Scotland*, which ſome thought he deſigned for himſelf. But Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* declined to give him any other

Anſwer than that it was well enough. In this Commiſſion a Clauſe was inſerted, which had been omitted in the other three, becauſe not thought of before, requiring me to obey not only ſuch Orders as I ſhould receive from the Parliament and Council of State, but alſo all ſuch as ſhould be ſignified to me from time to time from the Commiſſioners of the Parliament for the Affairs of *Ireland*. This I was ſo far from diſliking, that I procured another Order to be made, that the Pay of the Army ſhould be iſſued out by the Commiſſioners, and that no Money, except only for Contingencies, ſhould be iſſued out by the Commander in Chief. Having prepared my ſelf for my Journey, I took leave of the principal Officers of the Army, and on that occaſion moſt earneſtly requeſted of Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Major General *Lambert*, Col. *Desborough*, Col. *Sydenham*, Col. *Berry* and others, that as they valued the good of the Publick and their own Safety, they would be careful not to violate the Authority of the Parliament, who I perſwaded my ſelf were more ready to do any thing that might tend to the Preſervation of our Liberties than we were to ask it: And at my parting with Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Mr. *Henry Nevil*, Mr. *Scot*, Major *Saloway*, and the reſt of my good Friends that were Members of the Parliament, I took the liberty to beg of them not to put any unneceſſary Hardſhips upon thoſe

of

of the Army, but rather to gratify them in whatsoever they could, that if after all the Condescensions and Favours of the Parliament to them, they should be so unjust and ungrateful to offer Violence to the House, they might be left inexcusable in the sight of God and Men.

Being on my way to take Shipping for *Ireland*, accompanied by Col. *John Jones*, and being come as far as *Whitchurch*, one Capt. *Whetway* of *Chester* met us there, and informed us of a Design to rise in and about that Country by the Presbyterian and Cavalier Parties in conjunction; who gave out that Sir *George Booth*, the Earl of *Darby*, the Lord *Cherbury*, and other Persons of Quality and Estate were concerned with them. We, according to our Duty, immediately gave an account of what we had heard to the Council of State, and desired them to inquire into the Matter. Then we proceeded in our Journey, and being arrived at *Holy-head*, we found a small Vessel carrying about ten Guns, sent thither by the Commissioners of the Parliament to transport us to *Ireland*, they having at that time no Ship of greater Force on that Coast. Here we met my Cousin *Roger Ludlow*, who was then newly landed from *Ireland*, but finding us ready to set sail, he returned thither with us. At our Arrival within the Bar of *Dublin*, we found Mr. Justice *Cook* and my Brother-in-law attending with their Coaches; by which means we had an Opportnnity to go that Evening to my

House

Houſe at *Moncktown*. The next Morning before I could get out, the Mayor and Aldermen of *Dublin* came to welcome me into the Country, and to pay the uſual Civilities. And at the *Rings-end* I found the Guard that had formerly attended Col. *Cromwel*, drawn up by the Order of Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, with Col. *Theophilus Jones* in the Head of them, all of them expreſſing their Readineſs to ſerve me, and ſo accompanied me to the City. Being arrived at *Dublin*, I went immediately to wait on the Commiſſioners of Parliament who were then ſitting, and had been debating touching the manner of their Deportment towards me, the Reſult of which they informed me was, That each of them ſhould ſucceſſively take the Chair for one Month; that they would deſire me to give them my Aſſiſtance when the Affairs of the Army would permit; that I ſhould ſit with them when they ſat as Commiſſioners, in the next Place to the Chair-man, and that in all other Places I ſhould have the Precedency. I returned them my Thanks for the Honour they did me, and earneſtly deſired to be excuſed in the laſt Particular, having always declared it to be my Opinion, that the Military ought to ſubmit to the Civil Power. But they told me, that ſince it had been ſo reſolved, they would not permit me to ſpeak any more about it. Then I delivered to them a Warrant from the Council of State, authorizing Mr. *Blackwel* and Mr. *Standiſh* the Deputy Treaſurers

ſurers for *Ireland*, to charge by Bill of Exchange or otherwiſe the Treaſurers of War in *England* with thirty thouſand Pounds for the Service of *Ireland*. Which having done, I went into another Room, where the Officers of the Army were appointed to be, and gave them an account of the Return of the Parliament to the Exerciſe of their Authority, by whoſe Wiſdom and Juſtice ſo many things had been formerly done for the Advantage and Glory of the Engliſh Nation; and by whoſe Care and good Oeconomy they themſelves had been provided for, in ſuch a manner as had never been practiſed in later times, nor indeed could reaſonably be expected from any other Perſons than from thoſe, who as they are called the Fathers of the Country, ſo they have the Tenderneſs and Affection of Parents for all thoſe who take care to deſerve their Kindneſs and Protection. I aſſured them of their good Intentions for the Publick Happineſs, and to them in particular: And that as they were paſſing an Act to ſecure to the Souldiers the Poſſeſſion of thoſe Lands that had been aſſigned to them for their Arrears, ſo they would take care to cauſe their Armies to be conſtantly paid for the future: That the Parliament themſelves had appointed ſuch Officers to be placed over them, as had given Demonſtration of their Affections to the Publick in the late times of Defection. I alſo informed them that the Parliament had done me the Honour to appoint me to be Commander in Chief of

their

their Forces in *Ireland*, as they might more fully understand by the Commission it self, which I then ordered to be read in their Presence: and that done, I proceeded to tell them, that being sensible of my own Imperfections, and the great Weight and Importance of my present Employment, I had neither directly nor indirectly endeavoured to obtain it; but considering that my Superiors by virtue of their Authority, at the Desire of divers Officers commissionated by this Army, had called me to the Exercise of it, I was resolved to endeavour faithfully to discharge the Duty of my Station, and to adventure the utmost Hazards for the Publick Good, wherein I doubted not of their cheerful and ready Assistance. The Officers seeming well satisfied with what I had said, I dismissed them for that time.

Soon after my coming to *Dublin* we received Advice by a Message from *England*, of an Insurrection against the Parliament under Sir *George Booth*, and that *Chester* was seized for the King. Upon which I caused the Officers to meet, and taking into our Consideration how we might best preserve the Peace of *Ireland*, and prevent the like Mischiefs there, we immediately dispatched as many Officers as could be spared to their respective Charges. And because we were under the greatest Apprehensions for the Northern Parts, where the Scots and other disaffected Persons were in great Numbers, we sent Major *Dean*, an active and

good

good Officer, to command ſome Troops of Horſe that were in thoſe Parts. We reſolved alſo to ſend for the Lord *Broghil*, with Major *Warden* and Major *Pourden*, two of his Officers, and to require them to give Satisfaction touching their Acquieſcence under the preſent Government. And that I might contribute what I could towards quenching that Fire that had broken out in *England*, having received Information in my late Journey through part of *Wales*, that the ſmall Gariſons of *Denbigh*, *Beaumaris*, *Carnarvan*, and *Holyhead*, were undermann'd, I ſent over one hundred Foot to be diſtributed amongſt them. Which ſmall Supply came ſo ſeaſonably, that it not only prevented the Enemy from riſing in thoſe Parts; but enabled the Governours of thoſe Forts to ſend out Parties to bring in Proviſions for the Gariſons, of which they ſtood in great need. Col. *Edmund Temple* being at *Cheſter* when the Inſurrection began in thoſe Parts, was ſeized by the Rebels, and carried before Sir *George Booth*, who finding that he was going to embark for *Ireland*, permitted him to proceed in his Voyage. At his Arrival he gave us an account that Col. *Croxton* who was Governour of *Cheſter* finding it in vain to endeavour to keep the Town, had made uſe of the time he had to provide all things neceſſary to maintain the Caſtle till Relief could be ſent. He acquainted us alſo, that three or four hundred of the Enemies Horſe had marched into the Town of *Cheſter*;

Cheſter; that Sir *George Booth* was their Commander in Chief, and that the principal Perſons that had engaged with them were, the Earl of *Darby*, the Lord *Herbert* of *Cherbury*, Mr. *Lee* of *Limehouſe*, and Capt. *Morgan*. He added, that being asked by Sir *George Booth*, if he had not heard of any Riſing in other Parts, and having informed him that he had found all quiet on the Road from *London*, Sir *George* ſeemed much ſurprized and diſcouraged, ſaying, that other Promiſes had been made to him.

By the next account we received from *England*, we had notice that a Party of Horſe had appeared in *Darbyſhire*, tho by the Vigilance and Courage of our Friends in that County they were ſpeedily diſperſed or taken. We were likewiſe informed that the Earl of *Stamford* had been at the Head of a Party, according to a Promiſe he had made to Sir *George Booth*; but finding them not conſiderable, he had either ſurrendred himſelf, or been ſeized without any Oppoſition. In *Staffordſhire*, from whence the Enemy expected great Aſſiſtance, their Deſigns were prevented by the Diligence of Col. *Crompton* and Capt. *Bathhurſt*, who had ſecured the principal Perſons that were ſuſpected in that County. Col. *Maſſey* was ſeized at a Gentleman's Houſe in *Gloceſterſhire*, with ſome Ammunition; and by that means their Deſigns in the Weſt were diſappointed. And tho there appeared about threeſcore Horſe with one *Baſſet* near *Bathe*, and about the ſame Number

Number near *Malmsbury*; yet wanting the Colonel to head them, and being informed of the March of the County Troop againſt them, they diſperſed themſelves. Some of theſe, with others from the Borders of *Hampſhire*, went and joined the Body that was commanded by Sir *George Booth*. Sir *Thomas Middleton*, who had made me a Viſit when I was going to *Ireland*, and had aſſured me of his Reſolution to continue ſtedfaſt in the Intereſt of the Commonwealth, did, either through Dotage, being almoſt fourſcore Years of Age, or through the Importunity of others, or the natural Depravity of his own Heart, appear at the Head of the Cavalier Party at *Wrexham*, and there waving his Sword about his Head, cauſed *Charles Stuart* to be proclaimed King in the Market-Place. Which encouraged the Enemy ſo much, that they immediately ſent out a Party to poſſeſs themſelves of *Shrewsbury*; but tho the Male-contents were very numerous in that Town, and ready to join with them, yet Capt. *Waring* with the Militia Troop, in conjunction with many well-affected Perſons that went to him from *Wrexham*, and ſome others which he got together on a ſudden, prevented their Deſign, and ſecured that Place for the Parliament. This was a great Diſappointment to the Enemy, not only becauſe it kept their Friends in thoſe Parts from riſing, but in a great meaſure obſtructed their Correſpondence with the Weſtern Counties. However it being reported

that

that *Coventry* had declared for them, they received fresh Incouragement, and hoped that it might prove an occasion to divert the *London* Forces from advancing towards them, and were not without expectations of a Party to appear for them in or about *London*. Neither were their hopes in this particular without Foundation: For the Prebyterian Party did so greatly favour this abominable Design, wherein the whole Popish Party was likewise engaged, that many of them, tho they could not be drawn to join in the dangerous part of acting against the Parliament, yet openly denied their Assistance to suppress the Enemy. Of this sort was Col. *Fotherby* who commanded the Forces in the County of *Warwick*, and had faithfully served the Parliament to this time, yet now refused to act for them. So that old Colonel *Purefoy*, who had one Foot in the Grave, was obliged to undertake that Employment in those Parts, wherein he used such Diligence, and succeeded so well, that he kept the City of *Coventry* and the adjacent Country in the Obedience of the Parliament. And tho the Contagion had infected many within the City of *London*, yet the Vigilance and Diligence of the Parliament prevented it from manifesting it self in an open Revolt, by a timely seizing or frighting away such as were most dangerous to the Publick Peace. The Messenger that had been sent to *Ireland* from the Council of State, brought Orders to me for one thousand Foot

and

and five hundred Horſe, to be ſent to their Aſſiſtance in *England*. And tho, conſidering the Poſture of our Affairs, the Suſpicion we had of the Scots, the Number of the Iriſh, and that Spirit of Revenge they were poſſeſſed with, together with the Condition of our own Forces, who had been debauching for ſome Years from the Intereſt of the Commonwealth, we ſeemed rather to ſtand in need of Relief from *England*, than to be in a Capacity of ſending any thither, yet having received ſuch Orders from our Superiours, we thought it our Duty to obey them. And therefore by the Advice of the Field-Officers, it was reſolved to draw together thoſe Forces that lay moſt convenient for Tranſportation; and that the Publick Service might not ſuffer by any Delay that could be avoided, the Commiſſioners of Parliament cauſed an Embargo to be laid upon all the Veſſels then in the Harbour. Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* having in a Letter to me deſired that Col. *Zanchey* might command the Forces to be ſent from *Ireland*, I readily conſented to it, having no Suſpicion of any Deſign concealed under that Requeſt; and being informed by Col. *Axtel* that he alſo had ſome important Affairs in *England*, which he had left unſettled, I appointed him to command the Foot. Lieutenant Colonel *Walker*, Major *Rawlins*, Major *Bolton*, and Major *Godfrey*, were the reſt of the Field-Officers. I ordered that the Party to be tranſported to *England* ſhould be drawn to *Dublin*; and as ſoon

as a considerable Number of them were arrived there, Orders were dispatched for their Transportation, on assurance that the speedy Landing of our Forces from *Ireland* would tend to the Discouragement of our Enemies, and great Encouragement of our Friends. Having drawn the first Party, which was to be imbarked, to the Water-side, consisting of about four hundred, we caused two Months Pay to be advanced to them, one to enable them to pay their Debts in *Ireland*, the other was put into the hands of Lieutenant Colonel *Walker*, who commanded them, to be delivered to them as soon as they should arrive in *England*. The Officers and Souldiers undertook the Service with all imaginable Cheerfulness; and one of the Vessels that was appointed to carry Capt. *Jacomb* and his Company not being able to approach so near the Shoar as to make it convenient for the Souldiers to imbark, the Captain put himself into the Water, which his Men seeing, they soon followed his Example, and all together, with the Sea almost up to the Shoulders, marched through to the Ship. They had a very favourable Passage, and landed seasonably in *England*: For it happened that the third day after their Arrival Lieutenant Colonel *Walker* took up his Quarters at a Town in *Carnarvanshire*, where many disaffected Gentlemen and others of those Parts had appointed to rendezvouz the next day: But fearing he might ruin the Country, if they appeared in Arms,

Arms, they quitted their Design, and kept themselves at home.

The Parliament, tho they had resolved to send some Forces against Sir *George Booth*, yet they were doubtful to whom they should commit that Province. And whilst that Matter was under their Consideration, some Persons of the King's Party addressed themselves to the Wife of Col. *Lambert*, endeavouring to perswade her to solicite her Husband to be the Instrument of the King's Return, with large Offers of whatsoever Terms he would demand. She acquainted the Colonel with their Propositions; but he having resolved to play another part, discovered the whole Intrigue to Sir *Henry Vane*, who having communicated it to Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, and knowing there had been some late Differences between the Colonel and Sir *Arthur*, he perswaded them to renew their former Friendship, with Promises on each part to unite their Endeavours in the Service of the Parliament. By this means chiefly it was that Col. *Lambert* was soon after appointed to command those Forces that were designed to suppress the Insurrection in *Cheshire*. In this Conjuncture the Parliament sent an Order to Col. *Monk*, who then commanded their Forces in *Scotland*, to send them two Regiments of Foot and two of Horse; but he excused himself, under colour of the Enemies Strength and Inclination to revolt, tho there were not wanting some who then thought that his Engagements

with the Common Enemy were the true Reasons of that Refusal. And it is certain, that a Gentleman from the King had been with him; and tho what passed between them was not made publick, yet since he did not seize him, as it was his Duty, but permitted him to return safely from whence he came, he may justly be suspected even then to have betrayed those whom he pretended to serve. The second Party I sent for *England* was commanded by Col. *Axtel*; and the third by Col. *Zanchey*, to whom I gave also a Commission to command the whole Brigade of Horse and Foot, requiring him to take all Advantages against the Enemy, to relieve our Friends, and to obey all such Orders as he should from time to time receive from the Parliament, the Council of State, Col. *Lambert*, or me. Thus the whole Number of the Forces demanded by the Parliament was shipped off within ten days after I had received their Order, tho some of them were quartered at a great distance from *Dublin*; and both Horse and Foot landed very seasonably in *England*, tho not without a sad Loss. For the Ship wherein Major *Bolton* and Major *Rawlins*, with above thirty private Souldiers, had embarked, sprung a Leak in her Passage, and sunk down. The Irish Brigade being joined and arrived at *Chester*, they sent to Col. *Croxton*, to let him know, that if he should be driven to Extremity before any Relief should come to him from *London*, they had resolved to attempt it themselves.

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On the *6th* of *Auguſt*, 1659. Col. *Lambert* at the Head of three Regiments of Horſe, one of Dragoons, and three Regiments of Foot, marched from *London* againſt Sir *George Booth* and his Party, who were about four thouſand in Number. The Enemy had poſſeſſed themſelves of the Town of *Warrington*, and had placed a Party of about three hundred to defend it, having lodged their main Body on the other ſide of the River, and poſted a good Number of Men to keep the Bridg againſt ours. At this Place the Forces on each ſide met, and the Enemy began the Action, by ſending out a Party to skirmiſh with an advanced Party of Col. *Lambert*. But being repulſed, and retreating beyond the Bridg, their Body of Horſe conſiſting of about ſeventeen or eighteen hundred, one half whereof they reported to be Gentlemen, began to run before our Horſe could come up to charge them, leaving their Foot to be cut in pieces, except only about thirty or forty of their Horſe commanded by Capt. *Morgan*, who endeavouring to ſecure their Retreat, was killed in the Action. Many of their Foot eſcaped by leaping over the Hedges, and hiding themſelves. But their ſureſt Protection was their having engaged againſt thoſe that were more ready to ſave than deſtroy them. So that tho the whole Force of the Enemy was intirely defeated, yet there were not above forty of them killed. About ſix or ſeven hundred of their Horſe in ſcattered and broken Parties

fled to *Chester*; but not thinking themselves safe there, they went into *North Wales*, and the Town was delivered up to Col. *Lambert*. Sir *George Booth* after his Defeat put himself into a Woman's Habit, and with two Servants hoped to escape to *London*, riding behind one of them. The single Horseman going before, went to an Inn on the Road, and, as he had been ordered, bespoke a Supper for his Mistress, who he said was coming after. The pretended Mistress being arrived, either by alighting from the Horse, or some other Action, raised a Suspicion in the Master of the House, that there was some Mystery under that Dress. And thereupon resolving to make a full Inquiry into the Matter, he got together some of his Neighbours to assist him, and with them entred the Room where the pretended Lady was. But Sir *George Booth* suspecting their Intentions, and being unwilling to put them to the Trouble of a farther Search, discovered himself. Whereupon they took him into their Custody, and sent him up to *London*, where the Parliament committed him Prisoner to the Tower. From the sad Consideration of these and other unsuccessful Attempts, the Cavalier Party and those that sided with them began to despair, and to give their Cause for lost, unless by Divisions amongst our selves we should render our Victories useless to us: Which fell out sooner than they expected. For the Officers of the Army, whom nothing would satisfy

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leſs than an Abſolute Tyranny over the Nation, notwithſtanding the ſolemn Engagement they had taken before the Parliament at the time when they received their Commiſſions from the hands of the Speaker, and all their Expreſſions of Sorrow for their former Apoſtacy ſo often repeated in their laſt Declarations; theſe wretched Men, I ſay, contrary to their Faith, and the Duties of common Honeſty, reſolved to deſtroy the Parliament, and in imitation of their late Maſter *Oliver* to ſacrifice the Common Cauſe to their inſatiable Ambition. In order to this Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* moved the Houſe at the time when they had received the Account of Sir *George Booth*'s Defeat, that they would appoint Col. *Lambert* to be Major General of their Army; and this was done upon certain Aſſurance that Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* and other Members would endeavour to obſtruct it; whereby they doubted not the Colonel would be ſo far diſobliged as to be ready to join with them in their deteſtable Deſign. And it ſucceeded according to their Expectations: For Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* well knowing that in a free Commonwealth no Man ought to be truſted with too great Power, and eſpecially ſuch as had made very ill uſe of it before, prevailed with the Parliament to declare that they would not create any more General Officers than thoſe that were ſo already; which Method they took, that they might not ſeem to put a Negative upon him in particular. The

Lieutenant General having attained his end in the firſt Motion, was encouraged to move again, that ſeeing the Houſe had not thought fit to do as he had propoſed, they would be pleaſed to preſent the Sum of five hundred or a thouſand Pounds to Col. *Lambert*, as a Mark of their Favour, to be conferred on him in conſideration of his late Service. This Propoſition was moſt willingly entertained, Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* concurring with thoſe who were for the greater Sum, which was paid to him accordingly. But the Parliament's Refuſal to gratify him with the Title before-mentioned, was aggravated to that degree, that he, together with many Officers more amongſt whom he had an Intereſt, became moſt implacable Enemies to the Parliament. In the mean time a Committee was ſent to examine Sir *George Booth* in the Tower, touching the Deſign wherein he had been engaged, and the Perſons that had promiſed to join with him. He confeſſed to have received a Commiſſion from the King, and that many of the Nobility and Gentry had promiſed to appear with him, whereof he diſcovered ſome, and deſired more time to recollect himſelf concerning others.

During theſe Tranſactions I had endeavoured as well as I could to diſpatch thoſe Affairs in *Ireland* which were intruſted to my Care. I had delivered out new Commiſſions to the Officers there, and had diſpoſed of ſeveral Commands that were either vacant by the Refuſal

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of ſome to take the Engagement enjoined by the Parliament, or in the hands of Perſons diſaffected to the Government. I had furniſhed the Gariſons with Proviſions and Ammunition for three Months, and ſettled a Militia in each County as conſiderable as the Army it ſelf, conſiſting for the moſt part of Men that had Experience, and had readily engaged to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth. This Work was attended with many Difficulties; for I found divers of the Officers guilty of habitual Immoralities, many of them accuſtomed to detain the Pay of the private Souldiers, and moſt of them debauched in their Principles by the late Uſurpation of the *Cromwels*. I endeavoured to clear the Army of ſuch as were moſt guilty, and thereby hoped to reform the reſt. I alſo appointed fit Perſons to inquire into the Principles and Practices of the private Souldiers, as well Horſe as Foot; and upon full Information diſmiſſed ſuch as appeared incorrigible, and placed others in the room of them, of whom we had better hopes, together with as many of thoſe as we could find, who had been caſhiered on account of their Affection to the Parliament.

Upon the News of our Succeſs againſt Sir *George Booth*, Col. *Lockart* our Ambaſſador at the Pyrenean Treaty, began to be courted by the Spaniard, as he had been before by the French; and our Plenipotentiaries met with good Succeſs in their Mediation for an Agree-

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ment between the two Northern Crowns; and the Dutch not daring to attempt what they had designed for the King of *Denmark*, the two Kings were in a fair way to a Peace, tho the King of *Sweden* had expressed his Discontent, that the two Commonwealths should form Conditions to be imposed upon Crowned Heads. But being told by Col. *Algernon Sydney*, that the Friendship of *England* was not to be obtained on any other Terms, he seemed to acquiesce. But to return from my Digression.

In the Month of *September*, 1659. a Petition came to my hands that had been addressed to the Parliament from the Officers of that Brigade which was commanded by Col. *Lambert*, and signed from *Darby*; wherein they aspersed the Parliament for not endeavouring to suppress the late Rebellion with such Vigour as they ought, for not punishing those who had been engaged in it, and for not rewarding the Officers who had defeated the Enemy. They pressed for a Settlement of the Government after their own Mode, in a Representative of the People, and a select Senate. And for the better Discovery of their Arbitrary Designs, they demanded that Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* might be made Commander in Chief of the Army, without any Limitation of Time; Col. *Lambert* appointed Major General, Col. *Desborow* Lieutenant General of the Horse, and Col. *Monk* Major General of the Foot. To which they added, that no Officer of the Army

my ſhould be diſmiſſed from his Command, unleſs by a Court Martial. Copies of this Petition were ſent by Col. *Zanchey* into *Ireland*, accompanied with Letters to deſire that it might be communicated to the Officers there, and their Concurrence procured. Being ſenſible of the ill Effects that might ariſe from this wicked Attempt, if it ſhould ſucceed according to their hopes, amongſt the Officers in *Ireland*, I ſummoned as many of them as were quartered near *Dublin*, to meet there; and being met, I endeavoured to convince them of the Deformity and Hazard of this Deſign of the Army, deſiring them to remember how ſucceſsful they had been whilſt they contained themſelves within their proper Station, and how all their Attempts had miſcarried when they intermedled with thoſe things that did not belong to them; and that they would not forget how well the Army had been paid as long as the Parliament had the Management of Affairs, and how much they had been in Arrears ſince that time. I ſhewed them that the Parliament could not fail of coming to a ſpeedy Determination touching the Settlement of a juſt and equal Government, ſince they had declared that a Period ſhould be put to their ſitting in the Month of *May* next following: That the Nation would never endure to be governed by the Sword: That it was a meer Calumny to ſay, that the Parliament had not contributed their Endeavours towards the ſuppreſſion of the late

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Tumults; for nothing could have been attempted againſt the Enemies but by their Orders: That it was manifeſt they had gratified thoſe that had been inſtrumental in that Service, having freely given the Sum of a thouſand Pounds to Col. *Lambert*, and two hundred Pounds to Lieutenant Colonel *Duckenfield*; and that no private Souldier, who had been concerned in that Action, might remain unrewarded, they had given the Perſonal Eſtate of Sir *Thomas Middleton*, amounting to about three thouſand Pounds, to be diſtributed amongſt them. I endeavoured to perſwade them, that the Commiſſion granted to Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* was as full and ample as could juſtly be deſired, he being thereby appointed to continue in his Command till the Parliament ſhould find cauſe to the contrary: That if they had refuſed to make more General Officers, it was becauſe they knew it to be unneceſſary and dangerous; and that Col. *Lambert*, without the Title of Major General, had done as good Service as if he had been graced with that Addition. Then the Council of Officers entred upon the Debate of the Heads of the Petition from point to point, and after mature Deliberation unanimouſly declared their Diſlike of it, and their Reſolutions to acknowledg the Supreme Authority of the Nation to be in the Parliament, and to ſtand by them in the proſecution of the Common Cauſe wherein they had been employed. And becauſe a Petition to that effect

effect could not be immediately drawn, I ſent away the ſaid Reſolutions that very day to Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, with a Promiſe of a farther Declaration as ſoon as poſſible, reſolving not to neglect this Opportunity, out of a belief that our Proceedings might be of uſe, as well to incourage our Friends, as to diſcourage our Enemies in *England*. It may be obſerved that in this Conjuncture Col. *Monk* ſent alſo Letters to the Parliament, declaring his Reſolution not to join in the dangerous Counſels of the Army; but to keep the Officers that were under his Command within the Rules of Modeſty and Obedience.

The Army not unmindful of their Grand Deſign, perſwaded ſome of their Friends in the Parliament to move for an Order to continue Alderman *Ireton*, then Mayor, and one of their Confidents, in that Office for the next ſucceeding Year. And the Parliament ſeemed at the firſt inclined to grant their Requeſt, having perceived great Diſcontents amongſt the Citizens of *London* at the time of the late Inſurrections: But the Spirit of Sedition being much allayed ſince the Suppreſſion of the Rebels, the City petitioned the Parliament to permit them the Enjoyment of their Privilege to elect their Mayor, promiſing to employ that Favour, and all that they had, for their Service. Whereupon they were permitted to proceed in that Affair according to Cuſtom; and Sir *Thomas Allen*, a Man of a moderate Spirit, being choſen, they

they invited the Parliament and chief Officers of the Army to a ſplendid Entertainment at Dinner.

By this time I had almoſt compleated a Liſt for new modelling the Army in *Ireland*, in order to be preſented to the Committee of Nominations; and thinking it neceſſary, before my departure for *England*, to remove ſuch Perſons as gave the greateſt cauſe of Suſpicion, I filled their Places with thoſe, in whom I might beſt confide, and who had given evident Proof of their Affection to the Publick. There remained another Buſineſs of the greateſt Importance, and wherein I found it difficult to come to a Reſolution, and that was to appoint a Perſon to command the Forces in *Ireland* in my Abſence. My Inclinations led me to lodg that Power with the Commiſſioners of the Parliament: But Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* preſſed me ſo earneſtly againſt it, that I was prevailed with to lay aſide that Thought. 'Tis probable that the Lieutenant General was unwilling to have it diſcovered that ſuch an Office might be managed by more than one, leſt it ſhould tend to the diminution of his own Power, he being Commander in Chief of the Forces in *England* and *Scotland*. But the Parliament having made no diſtinction amongſt the Colonels by any ſuperiour Titles, I was much embaraſſed how to proceed. Col. *Zanchy* was the eldeſt Colonel, and moſt earneſtly deſired the Imployment; but when I conſidered his Carriage

Carriage in the contriving, abetting and promoting that base Petition lately sent from *Derby* by the Officers of the Army to the Parliament, as I mentioned before, I could not think him to be a Man proper for so great a Trust. Sir *Hardress Waller* had been Major General of the Foot, one of the late King's Judges, and of good Ability and Experience in War: But he having complied with every Party that had been uppermost; and especially having not yet received the Parliament's Confirmation for the Regiment he commanded, I durst by no means entrust him with the Command of the intire Forces. After much Deliberation, I resolved, as the best Expedient I could find, to nominate Col. *John Jones* to command the Forces of *Ireland* in my absence; he being a Member of Parliament, one of the late King's Judges, and one of the Commissioners of Parliament for the Administration of the Civil Government in *Ireland:* By virtue of which Qualifications I hoped he might be approved by the Parliament, acceptable to the Officers of the Army, and stedfast in the Defence of the Common Cause. Having taken this Resolution, and being willing to keep a good Correspondence with the Army in *England*, I informed Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* with my Intentions, desiring that if he approved my Choice, he would procure the Parliament to be moved to give their Approbation. But he having, it seems, cast off his Respect to the Parliament, returned me

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in anſwer, that I was ſufficiently authorized by my Commiſſion to conſtitute one to command in Chief during my Abſence; and that I had made, in his Opinion, a very good Choice. All this while I had not acquainted Col. *Jones* with my Reſolution touching him, nor intended to do it till the time of my Departure drew near, and till I had prepared the Officers of the Army to give him their Aſſiſtance in the Execution of his Charge. To this end I diſcourſed with Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, and freely told him the Reaſons why I had not appointed him to command in Chief, aſſuring him that I had committed that Imployment to one of the Commiſſioners of the Parliament in a great meaſure out of reſpect to him, that I might not be obliged to lodg it with Col. *Zanchey*, who tho he was a younger Officer, yet being the firſt that was commiſſionated by the Parliament, expected it of courſe. Sir *Hardreſs* ſeemed well ſatisfied with what I had ſaid, and promiſed his hearty Aſſiſtance to Col. *Jones*. There was no neceſſity to labour ſo much to give Satisfaction to Sir *Charles Coote* in this particular: for he ſeemed to aim at nothing more than to keep his Government in *Connaught*, of which Province he was Preſident by Act of Parliament, and to have his Regiment of Foot and Troop of Horſe continued to him. I aſſured him of my Endeavours that all thoſe things might be confirmed to him by the Parliament, in hopes that he would imploy them in the Defence and Preſervation

ſervation of that Authority, under which he had done ſo many Services, and from whom he had received ſo many Marks of Favour. This he promiſed to do, and added, that he was fully convinced that his Intereſt was wholly involved in the Preſervation of the Parliament, all that he enjoyed being derived from their Authority; and that as he had oppoſed the late King in his Arbitrary Deſigns, ſo he would continue to act in conformity to thoſe Actions, well knowing that if the Son ſhould happen to prevail, the Engliſh Intereſt would be loſt in *Ireland*, and the Iriſh reſtored to the Poſſeſſion of their Lands, according to an Agreement paſſed between them. So having given me theſe Aſſurances, he took his leave, in order to return to his Government.

The Petition before-mentioned that had been agreed on by the Officers of the Army at *Darby*, coming to the knowledg of the Parliament, with the Endeavours that were uſed to procure Subſcriptions to it; ſome, who knew it to be a Contrivance of Col. *Lambert*, moved that he might be ſent to the Tower: and it had been well, either that the Motion had better ſucceeded, or that it had never been made. But it ended only in paſſing a Vote to diſapprove the Petition and the Proceedings thereupon, and to require Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* to ſend Letters to all Parts to obſtruct any farther Progreſs therein. One of the ſaid Letters was ſent to *Ireland*, which in effect was anſwered before

it came, we having drawn up a Petition in consequence of our Vote, which I mentioned before; wherein, after we had asserted our Cause, desired a just and equal Magistracy, and the Reformation of such things as should be found amiss in Church and State, we assured the Parliament of our Readiness to lay down our Lives in their Service, and in the Prosecution of those great Ends. This Affair being dispatched, Col. *Lawrence*, who I am perswaded was accessary to the Design carried on at *Wallingford*-House, suspecting that whilst I staid in *Ireland*, the Army there could not be wrought upon by that Faction, advised me to hasten my Departure, telling me that *Ireland* being now settled, I might do more good in *England*, where my Assistance might be wanted. I suspected not the Sincerity of his Counsel, and having divers Reasons to move me to it, I prepared my self for my Journey, and with much difficulty prevailed with Serjeant *Steel*, who had supplied the Place of Chancellour during the Usurpation, to remain in *Ireland*, tho he earnestly desired to go over with me about some Affairs relating to his Office: But I thought it might prove too great a Discouragement to our Friends, if we should both leave them together, and therefore promised him to endeavour that nothing might pass the Parliament relating to the Courts of Justice in *Ireland*, till he should be heard concerning it. These things done, I acquainted Col. *Jones* with my Resolution, who after some

Expreſſions of Modeſty and Gratitude accepted the Imployment, and promiſed to apply himſelf with all poſſible Fidelity and Diligence to the Diſcharge of it. Upon which Promiſe and Acceptance, I went to the Commiſſioners, and deſired their Approbation. But Col. *Thomlinſon* who was one of them, either from a belief that I had not Power to conſtitute a Deputy, or reſenting that he was not the Perſon, or at leaſt joined in the Commiſſion with Col. *Jones*, moved the reſt of the Commiſſioners not to intermeddle in that Affair, tho without effect. For it was carried againſt his Opinion at the Board, and Col. *Jones* approved, in virtue of a Clauſe in my Commiſſion, authorizing me to depute whom I thought fit for leading and conducting the Army. In conſequence of this they paſſed an Order to confirm my Choice, and to require all Colonels, Lieutenant Colonels and other inferiour Officers, *&c.* to yield Obedience to him, in the execution of the Commiſſion which he had received from me. Then I called a Council of Officers, and informed them that the Commiſſioners of Parliament and my ſelf had impowered Col. *John Jones*, of whoſe Fidelity to the Publick, and peculiar Affection to them, they had large Experience, to command the Army during the time that their Service might detain me in *England*; deſiring them to afford him the beſt of their Aſſiſtance in the execution of that Truſt, which they unanimouſly promiſed to do. Before my De-

parture, the Mayor and Aldermen of *Dublin* having formed the Militia of that Place, whereof both Officers and Souldiers had taken the Engagement, they were desirous to give some Publick Expression of their Affection to the Commonwealth; and to that end on the day I designed to imbark, they drew their Forces into the Field, consisting of about twelve hundred Foot, and one hundred and twenty Horse, that I might view them, and report to the Parliament their Readiness to serve the Publick. Accordingly the Commissioners in their Coaches, and I with the Officers of the Army on Horseback, took a View of them, as they were drawn up on the College Green, being all very well equipped, and drawn up in good Order, and indeed so exact in the performance of their Exercise, that one would have thought them to have been long in the Service. Here they repeated their Resolutions to serve the Cause of God and their Country with the utmost of their Endeavours, and promised to live and die with us in the Assertion of our just Rights and Liberties. When they had finished their Exercise, I took leave of each Officer at the Head of his respective Company, and went that Evening to my House at *Moncktown*, in order to imbark for *England*. The Commissioners of the Parliament did me the Honour to accompany me about half a Mile out of Town, and the Officers of the Army would have attended me to my House.

But

But becauſe it was late, I would not permit Sir *Hardreſs Waller* and the reſt of the Officers to go further than half way. The next Day after I had ſigned ſuch Commiſſions and Orders as I thought neceſſary, and was ready to go on board, Col. *Jones*, Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, with moſt of the Officers about *Dublin*, and my good Friend Chief Juſtice *Cook*, came down to me, and accompanied me to the Sea-ſide, where we took leave of each other with mutual Recommendations to the Direction and Protection of Almighty God. The next Day I arrived in the Road without the Bay of *Beaumaris*, and there meeting with ſome Veſſels coming from *Cheſter*, I inquired of them if the Iriſh Brigade were yet put to Sea for *Ireland*, having been aſſured that the Council of State had given Orders for their Tranſportation. They informed me that the ſaid Brigade had lain long at the Water-ſide, in order to imbark, and had prepared many Veſſels to that end; but that all the Ships were now diſcharged upon Orders received from Col. *Zanchey* for thoſe Forces to march for *London*. This Information gave me occaſion to ſuſpect what was ſoon after confirmed to me: For at my Arrival in the Bay, which was in the Evening, the Governour of *Beaumaris* and another Officer came to me on board, and informed me that the Army had offered Violence a ſecond time to the Parliament, and reſumed the Power into their Hands. This aſtoniſhing News put me into a Doubt whether

I ſhould return to my Command in *Ireland*, or continue my Journey to *London*. On the one hand I conſidered that thoſe who were under my particular Care and Conduct being in *Ireland*, my Preſence might be neceſſary amongſt them, to excite them to the performance of their Duty. On the other ſide, when I called to mind that I had done as much as I could to ſecure their Service to the Parliament, that I had brought a Declaration from them to that purpoſe, and left the Chief Command in the hands of a Perſon that had great Reaſons to move him to be faithful in his Charge, I was inclined to go forward in my Journey. And when I conſidered the Miſchiefs likely to follow upon a Breach between the Parliament and Army, which I concluded would inevitably prove the Ruin of both; and that it was not impoſſible that I might contribute ſomething towards a Reconciliation: In concluſion knowing that in my way I ſhould have an Opportunity of conferring with the Iriſh Brigade, I reſolved to continue my Journy; and the next Morning as I paſſed the Ferry at *Conway*, I perceived a Perſon riding Poſt towards us, who coming nearer, appeared to be one Col. *Barrow*, diſpatched from the Council of Officers at *London*, with a Meſſage to me and the reſt of the Officers in *Ireland*, to give us an account of their Proceedings, and what ſatisfaction they could concerning them. He delivered to me two Letters, one from the Council of Officers directed

to

to me, and to be communicated to the Army in *Ireland*: The other from Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* to my self. In that from the Officers they endeavoured to put the best Gloss they could upon their late Action, pleading the Force of Necessity in their excuse, and protesting to improve every Opportunity to promote the Publick Good, with this Expression inserted, *That they had been necessitated to obstruct the sitting of the Parliament for the present.* That from Lieut.Gen. *Fleetwood* was much to the same purpose, desiring me to exercise my Charity to them, and labouring to clear his own Integrity in the late Transaction. Col. *Barrow* also endeavoured to perswade me that the Parliament had on many Occasions manifested such a Spirit of Imposition, as was become intolerable; that they had designed to ruin their most antient and best Friends; and that the Officers had taken the Power into their own Hands, only to imploy it to the full satisfaction of all honest Men. I told him that tho I should be extreamly glad to see it so imployed, yet when I considered how grosly the Nation had been formerly abused under the same Pretences, I had not the least Expectation of it, being well informed that all their Discontents had no other Foundation than the Experience they had that the Parliament would not permit the Officers of the Army to be their Superiors, and the Sword to tyrannize over the Civil Power. After I had spent about an Hour with Col. *Barrow* in

Converſation touching this Affair, I found no Cauſe to alter my Reſolution concerning my Journy, but was rather confirmed in my Opinion, that my Endeavours to adjuſt the Differences between the Parliament and Army might prove ſucceſsful; and therefore having peruſed the Letter from the Officers at *London*, which was to be communicated to thoſe in *Ireland*, I delivered it again to Col. *Barrow*, with another for Col. *Jones*, wherein I deſired him to take all poſſible Care, that the common Enemy might not be able to take advantage from this ſad Conjuncture to diſturb the Publick Peace. Then I proceeded in my Journy towards *Cheſter*, and being arrived within three Miles of that Town, I found the Officers of Horſe belonging to the Iriſh Brigade, who gave themſelves the trouble to wait my coming, and accompanied me to the City, where the Foot were drawn up, and had lined the Streets to the Place where I was to lodg. The next Day being Sunday, I ſtaid there, and taking that Occaſion to ſpeak with the Officers of the ſaid Brigade, together with Col. *Croxton* Governour of *Cheſter*, I told them freely my Thoughts concerning the late precipitate Enterprize of the Army, and, as I was able, endeavoured to convince them of the Imprudence and Injuſtice of it; delivering for my Opinion, that the late Addreſs, contrived at *Darby*, had given Birth to this unnatural Attempt, as it was it ſelf the Offspring of Pride and Ambition: That it was apparent the

Army

Army had not put this Affront upon the Parliament for having omitted the performance of their Duty in relation to the Publick, but meerly on account of themſelves and their own private Intereſt, having expreſſed their Reſentment in the moſt outragious manner againſt the Parliament, for not advancing ſome Officers of the Army to ſuch Powers and Titles as had formerly proved fatal to the Government; tho they might have ſeen by the late Succeſs of Col. *Lambert*, that Victory is not entailed upon empty Titles. During this Conference there was not one word ſaid in excuſe of the late horrid Act committed by the *Wallingford*-houſe Party, but only by one Capt. *Winckworth* a Creature of Col. *Zanchey*; all the reſt ſeeming to be convinced of the Truth of what I had ſaid, affirming that they had been ſurprized, and prevailed upon to ſign it, without having ſufficiently weighed the Conſequences it might produce. In particular Lieutenant Colonel *Walker*, the chief Officer then upon the Place, aſſured me, that it being ſuddenly preſented to him with a Letter from Col. *Zanchey*, he had too haſtily ſigned it; but after better Conſideration, he had reſolved to ſtop the Paper at the Poſt-houſe, which he had done if it had not been diſpatched away ſooner than he expected.

Whilſt I was at *Cheſter* there came a Meſſenger from the Officers of the Army at *London* with Letters for thoſe in *Ireland*, which he preſented to me, as they were directed. Upon

on the perusal of them I found my former Suspicions justified, and that the Army would be contented with nothing less than to have the Government established in a Court-Martial. To this end they had agreed that Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* should be Commander in Chief of all the Forces of the Commonwealth, Col. *Lambert* Major General of the Army, Col. *Desborow* Lieutenant General of the Horse, Col. *Monk* Major General of the Foot; and that all Officers of the Army who should by their Subscriptions testify their Submission to this Agreement, should be confirmed in their Commands, from thence never to be discharged, unless by a Court-Martial: That all Officers to be presented to any Command that should be vacant by Dismission, Death, or otherwise, should be nominated by Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Major General *Lambert*, Col. *Desborow*, Col. *Berry*, my self, or any three of us; and to receive their Commissions from Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, who also was to grant new ones to those that were already possessed of any Military Command. We were informed also by this Messenger, that the Council of Officers had agreed upon one and twenty Persons, with whom they pretended to intrust the Administration of all Civil Affairs, under the Title of a *Committee of Safety*, resolving to obey them so long as they would do what should be prescribed to them. This Number, tho filled up with Men of almost

moſt all Parties, yet was ſo craftily compoſed, that the Balance was ſufficiently ſecured to thoſe of their own Faction. The Names of the Committee were as followeth; Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Major General *Lambert*, Col. *Desborow*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Major *Saloway*, the Lord *Warriſton*, Col. *Tichburn*, Commiſſioner *Whitlock*, Col. *Berry*, Mr. *Walter Strickland*, Col. *Hewetſon*, Mr. *Cornelius Holland*, Sir *James Harrington*, Alderman *Ireton*, Col. *Sydenham*, Mr. Serjeant *Steel*, Mr. *Henry Brandriff*, Col. *Monk*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, one Perſon more, and my ſelf. Notwithſtanding all this bad News, I reſolved to purſue my Journey; and having viewed the Caſtle of *Cheſter*, exhorted the Officers of the Iriſh Brigade to perſiſt in their Reſolutions of Fidelity to the Parliament, and written to the Officers in *Ireland* to the ſame purpoſe, I departed from thence on Monday about Noon, the Streets being lined with Souldiers as at my Arrival. The Horſe accompanied me about three Miles on my way, and there I found another Troop waiting to attend me to *Whitchurch*, where I lay that Night. But the next Morning having permitted them to accompany me about a Mile from the Town, I diſmiſſed them with Thanks for their Affection, and extreamly pleaſed to be freed from ſuch Ceremonies, admiring how it ſhould come to paſs that ſo many Men delight in numerous and magnificent Trains, which, beſides the Trouble it puts others to, muſt neceſ-

farily render those for whose Service they are designed, less useful and easy to themselves. At *Coventry* I found some of the Forces that had been in the Service of the King of *France*, and lately brought to *England* by order of the Parliament, upon the Insurrection of Sir *George Booth*'s Party. I discoursed with the Officers concerning their Duty in this Conjuncture, and exhorted them to continue stedfast in their Obedience to the Parliament, which they promised to do. The next Night I lay at *Northampton*, and was informed by some Passengers who came from *London*, that Col. *Monk* had declared against the late Proceedings of the Army. Which News was so welcome that I could not give intire Credit to it, till it was confirmed to me the next Night at *Dunstable*, and the Day after by my Wife, who came to meet me at St. *Albans*. Being arrived at *London*, I went to Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, who endeavouring to perswade me to go in to a Council of Officers that was then assembled at *Wallingford*-house, to consider of Letters brought from Col. *Monk*, I desired to be excused from intermedling in their Consultations, being very ill satisfied with their Proceedings, accounting them to be founded upon a selfish bottom, and therefore not likely to produce any Good to the Publick. He requested me to put a charitable Construction on their Actions, making solemn Protestations of his own Integrity, and adding, that whatsoever Opinion I might have conceived

ceived of them, I ſhould certainly find that *Monk*'s Intentions were neither ſincere nor honeſt. To which I replied, that tho I knew not what Deſigns he might have to carry on, yet it ought to be confeſſed that his publick Declaration had a better appearance than theirs, who demanded nothing leſs than a Government by the Sword. By him and others whom I converſed with, I was fully acquainted with the Grounds and Cauſes of this ſecond Violence offered to the Parliament, which had been deſigned ſoon after their Reſtitution, when the Grandees of the Army perceived they would not be governed by them; and had been more ſpeedily put in execution, if the late Tumults of the Cavaliers and Presbyterians had not cauſed it to be put off till they were ſuppreſſed. The Parliament on their part being ſenſible of their Danger, were not wholly negligent of the means to prevent it; tho I cannot ſay they gave no Advantages to the Faction of the Army, by diſguſting the Sectarian Party, and falling in with the corrupt Intereſts of the Lawyers and Clergy, wherein the Army did not fail to outbid them when they ſaw their time. But Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* ſuppoſing that a Conjunction with theſe Men would contribute much to deter the Officers from any Attempt againſt the Parliament, cloſed with them, and thereby diſſatisfied many of the Commonwealth-Party. Neither did it a little contribute to this Diſorder, that Sir *Arthur*, who took upon him to

be

be the principal Manager of Affairs in Parliament, was a Man of a disobliging Carriage, sowr and morose of Temper, liable to be transported with Passion, and to whom Liberality seemed to be a Vice. Yet to do him Justice, I must acknowledg, that I am under no manner of Doubt concerning the Rectitude and Sincerity of his Intentions. For he made it his business to prevent Arbitrary Power wheresoever he knew it to be affected, and to keep the Sword subservient to the Civil Magistrate. To this end he had procured many Officers to be chosen into the Army, with whom he hoped to balance that Faction that appeared every day more and more amongst them. He had recommended Col. *Fitz* to the Parliament for Lieutenant of the Tower, and took care on all Occasions to oblige Col. *Monk*, who commanded the Forces in *Scotland*. He presumed upon the Fidelity of the Fleet and Forces in *Ireland*, on account of the past Services of those that commanded them, and their former Opposition to the Usurpation of *Cromwel*. He had procured a Guard of chosen Horse commanded by Major *Evelyn*, to attend the Parliament, and was assured of Col. *Morley*'s Regiment, with those of Col. *Hacker*, Col. *Okey*, and some others that lay in or near the Town. In the mean time the Officers at *Wallingford*-house had not been idle, and accounting it lawful for them to do whatsoever they had Power to do, they agreed on that Petition which I mentioned before to have

have been ſent from *Darby*, and privately ſent it down thither to be ſigned and diſperſed, and then to be returned to *London*, as if it had been drawn at *Darby*, and by no means to be preſented to the Parliament, unleſs it were firſt approved by Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, and ſigned, at his Recommendation, by the Officers about *London*. The Lieutenant General having received this pernicious Paper, being one Morning at a Committee in the Speaker's Chamber before the Houſe was ſat, ſhewed it to Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, acquainting him how it came to his hands, pretending his Diſlike of it, and a Reſolution to put a ſtop to it. Sir *Arthur* ſaid not much to him concerning it, either ſuſpecting him to be in the Plot, or thinking that if ſpeedy care were not taken, it would be paſt all Remedy: And therefore procured the Speaker immediately to take the Chair, and to ſend for the Members from the Committee into the Houſe. Which being done, he obtained an Order for ſhutting the Door, and bringing the Keys to the Table, alledging that the Buſineſs which he had to impart to the Parliament required that Care. Then he communicated to them the Petition it ſelf, which being read, he aggravated the Heinouſneſs of the Attempt, and moved that Col. *Lambert*, who commanded that part of the Army amongſt whom it was ſaid to have had its beginning, might be accuſed of High Treaſon, and committed to the Tower; and that one Major *Creed* and Col.

Zanchey

Zanchey might also be taken into Custody. The major part of the House, finding their very Being struck at by this Combination, seemed very ready to agree with those who were the most zealous for the Suppression of it. But the Lieutenant General affirming, that, according to the best of his Information, the Petition had been begun and carried on by the inferiour Officers of the Brigade, without the Knowledg or Consent of Col. *Lambert:* That it was not to have been presented to the Parliament without the Approbation of himself, and the rest of the Officers about *London*; and that he had taken a Resolution to suppress it; the House inclined to more gentle Methods, and contented themselves with passing a Vote, to express their Dislike of the said Petition, requiring those of the Army to forbear any farther prosecution of it, and commanding Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* to issue out his Letters to that effect to the several Quarters of the Army, which he did accordingly. But for all this a Council of Officers was summoned to meet at *Wallingford*-house; and tho it was pretended to be only in order to declare their Acquiescence in the Resolution of the Parliament, yet the Officers fell into Debates of the utmost Rage and Madness, Col. *Lambert*, who was present, sitting still as a Person altogether unconcerned, and not reproving them in the least for their Excesses. The Result of all was, that a Committee of the Council of Officers was directed to prepare an

Address

Addreſs to the Parliament, wherein after the ſpecious Promiſes of Obedience they deſired that thoſe who ſhould hereafter miſinform the Houſe, as had been done in their Caſe, might undergo the Cenſure of the Parliament: That a Commander in Chief might be conſtituted without limitation of Time: That no Officer might be diſplaced unleſs by a Court-Martial: That the Act of Indemnity might be enlarged: That the Revenue of Mr. *Richard Cromwel* might be augmented, and that his Debts might be paid; with other Particulars, moſt of which were as abſurd for the Army to ask, as for the Parliament to grant. However, the Parliament being willing to leave no means unattempted that might give Satisfaction to the Army, taking hold of that Clauſe in the Addreſs wherein they had promiſed Obedience, gave them Thanks for their Affection expreſſed therein, and promiſed to take the Particulars of the Petition into their ſpeedy and ſerious Conſideration, to do therein according to Juſtice, and as far as they could to their Satisfaction. In purſuance of this Promiſe the Parliament proceeded to the Conſideration of the ſeveral Parts of the Addreſs, and had made a good Progreſs in it, when Col. *Okey* communicated to them a Letter ſubſcribed by Col. *Lambert*, Col. *Desborow*, Col. *Berry*, Col. *Clerk*, Col. *Barrow*, who were of a Committee nominated by the Council of Officers, which had been ſent to him to encourage Subſcriptions to the Petition lately

read in the Houſe. By which Proceeding it was manifeſt, that they intended the Petition to be the Ground on which they deſigned to unite the Army againſt the Civil Authority. The Parliament finding that the ways of Compliance which they had been taking ſerved only to encourage the Army to Mutiny and Rebellion, reſolved upon ſharper Counſels. And to that end, having cauſed the Door of the Houſe to be locked, and fully informed themſelves of the Matter of Fact, they voted the Commiſſions of thoſe who had ſubſcribed the ſaid Letter to be void. They voted the Commiſſion of Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* to be void alſo, and placed by an Act the Power of Commander in Chief of all the Forces in *England* and *Scotland* in the ſeven following Perſons, *viz.* Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Col. *Monk*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, Col. *Walton*, Col. *Morley*, Col. *Overton*, and Me. Then they cauſed the Speaker to demand of Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, who was preſent in the Houſe, if he would ſubmit to this Reſolution of the Parliament; to which he anſwered, that he would. They alſo declared, that no Tax ſhould be laid or levied upon the People, unleſs by Act of Parliament, under the Penalty due to thoſe that are guilty of High Treaſon. This Buſineſs, tho carried with as much Privacy as it could be, yet came to the notice of the Officers without doors, who being ſurprized at the Reſolution of the Parliament, and convinced that the leaſt

Delay

Delay might prove dangerous, uſed all poſſible Diligence in drawing together their Party, and preparing themſelves for their deſigned Work.

In the mean time the Parliament ordered the Regiments of Col. *Morley* and Col. *Moſs* to march forthwith to *Weſtminſter* for their Security, and ſent for the reſt of the Troops that were about the Town to draw down to them alſo with all convenient ſpeed. In purſuance of which Order Col. *Okey* endeavoured to bring down his Regiment of Horſe, but the greateſt part of them deſerted him. For moſt of the old Officers whom *Cromwel* had by his Example corrupted with the horrid Vices of Ambition and Treachery, found it eaſy to delude the inferior Officers and private Souldiers, who had either utterly forgot their Trades, or were unwilling to return to an induſtrious Life, into a compliance with any Deſign, in order to get a living. Col. *Lambert* was the Perſon that made the firſt Attempt againſt the Parliament's Guard, endeavouring at the Head of a Party of Horſe to break in upon that part where Col. *Morley* was poſted with his Regiment. But the Colonel advancing, and aſſuring him, that if he perſiſted, he would fire upon him, *Lambert* anſwered, I will then go the other way, which he did, after he had given Order to block up the Avenues by the Mill-Bank with Carts and other Impediments, to prevent the Guards of the Parliament from ſallying out upon them by that way. The Army had alſo placed a

Party of theirs in *King-ſtreet*, and in the Church-yard near the Abby, ſome of Col. *Morley*'s Regiment having already poſſeſſed themſelves of the Old *Palace-yard*. In this poſture they continued all Night. The next Morning that Guard of the Army which lay in the Church-yard advanced with one Major *Grimes* at the Head of them towards thoſe of Col. *Morley*'s Regiment, who were in the *Palace-yard:* Of which Motion the Colonel being informed, drew out thoſe that he had with him, and haſtned to their Relief. Both Parties being come within Piſtol-ſhot, and each of them ready to fire, thoſe of the Army began to invite Col. *Morley*'s Men to go over to them, deſiring them to remember that they had hitherto fought together, and that it was unreaſonable now to become Enemies. In like manner Col. *Morley*'s Party endeavoured to perſwade thoſe of the Army to join with them in the Defence of the Parliament, who they ſaid had been always ſucceſsful in the Adminiſtration of Publick Affairs, and to whom the Officers of the Army had ſo lately promiſed Obedience, when they received their laſt Commiſſions: who had always taken effectual care for their conſtant Pay, and who were the only Authority that could do ſo for the future. The chief Officers at length interpoſing, it was agreed, that both Parties ſhould for the preſent retire to their former Stations. On the other ſide Col. *Lambert* being advanced near that Party which was com-

commanded by Col. *Moſs*, demanded of them if they would ſuffer nine of their old Officers, who had ſo often ſpent their Blood for them and with them, to be diſgraced and ruined with their Families. The Colonel anſwered, that tho that ſhould be the Caſe, yet it were much better that nine Families ſhould be deſtroyed, than the Civil Authority of the Nation trampled under foot, who deſigned not the Ruin of any, but only to remove from their Commands nine Officers, who by their ſeditious Carriage had rendred themſelves unworthy of that Truſt. But Col. *Lambert*'s Oratory was more prevalent with the Perſon that commanded the Parliament's Guard of Horſe, who perceiving that divers of his Men had left him and revolted by the treacherous Perſwaſions of one *Cathneſs* his Lieutenant, diſmounted in the Head of his Troop at the Command of *Lambert*. Some of Col. *Moſs* his Regiment went off alſo, each Party uſing their Rhetorick to bring over as many as they could. On the other part ſome came over to the Parliament's Party, and particularly three intire Companies of Col. *Sydenham*'s Regiment. But at laſt the Army gained their Point, and placed Guards both by Land and Water, to hinder the Members of Parliament from approaching the Houſe, tho Sir *Peter Wentworth* being rowed by a Crew of able Watermen, broke through their Guard on the River, and got into the Houſe. In the mean time the Speaker endeavouring to paſs in

his Coach through the Guards of the Army, was ſtopped near the Gate of the *Palace-yard* by Lieutenant Colonel *Duckenfield*; and being demanded whither he was going, the Speaker anſwered, to perform his Duty at the Houſe: Then turning himſelf to the Souldiers, he told them, that he was their General, and expected their Obedience. But theſe Men having reſolved to deſtroy the Civil Authority, and to ſet up the Sword in the room of it, forced his Coachman to drive back, and as he paſſed by *Wallingford*-houſe, would have compelled him to drive in at the Gate, telling the Speaker, that he muſt go to Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*. But the Speaker commanded the Coachman to drive home: and having told the Officers, that if Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* had any buſineſs with him, he might come to his Houſe, they deſiſted from giving him any farther Trouble at that time.

During thoſe Diſorders, the Council of State ſtill aſſembled at the uſual Place; and at one of their Meetings Col. *Sydenham*, who was one of them, made a Speech, wherein he endeavoured to juſtify theſe Proceedings of the Army, undertaking to prove that they were neceſſitated to make uſe of this laſt Remedy by a particular Call of the Divine Providence. But the Lord Preſident *Bradſhaw*, who was then preſent, tho by long Sickneſs very weak and much extenuated, yet animated by his ardent Zeal and conſtant Affection to the Common Cauſe, upon

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hearing those Words, stood up and interrupted him, declaring his Abhorrence of that detestable Action, and telling the Council, that being now going to his God, he had not Patience to sit there to hear his Great Name so openly blasphemed; and thereupon departed to his Lodgings, and withdrew himself from Publick Employment. The Army having resolved to finish the Work, appointed a select Number of Persons, consisting for the most part of themselves and their Creatures, to have the Administration of Civil Affairs, calling them, as I said before, *A Committee of Safety*: and knowing that it was of great Importance to secure the Forces in *Ireland* and *Scotland* to their Interest, they dispatched Col. *Barrow*, formerly mentioned, to *Ireland*, and Col. *Cobbet* to *Scotland*, on that Design.

The News of this great Change being brought to *Ireland*, was at first received with great Sadness and Discontent; but after three or four days, when Col. *Barrow* had given Assurances of Favour and Advancement to divers Officers, he easily perswaded many of them that the Army would make use of their Power to good Ends. Yet so much Dissatisfaction remained in the major part of them, that the Colonel could not obtain any publick Approbation from them of the Proceedings of the Army in *England:* Only they sent a Letter inclosed in one to me, and directed to the Council of Officers at *London*, advising them to be very cir-

cumſpect in their Actions, leſt they ſhould happen to ſplit as formerly upon the Rocks of Pride and Ambition. At the ſame time I received Letters from Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, Col. *Cooper*, and other Officers, to inform me, that thoſe who had the Management of Affairs in *Ireland*, endeavoured on all occaſions to impoſe upon them, and therefore earneſtly deſired my Preſence there. Col. *Cobbet* had not ſo good Succeſs in *Scotland:* For Col. *Monk*, who had another Part to play, having ſecured to himſelf the Fidelity of moſt of his Officers who had been with him for many Years, and by the particular Favour of Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* had not been altered by the Committee of Nominations, ſeized Col. *Cobbet* with ſome Officers that he ſuſpected might oppoſe his Deſigns, and ſent them Priſoners into one of the Iſlands. After that he declared for the Parliament, and writ three Letters, whereof the firſt was directed to the Speaker, the ſecond to Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, and the third to Col. *Lambert*. In that to the Speaker he aſſured him, that he would expoſe himſelf and the Forces with him to all Hazards for the Reſtitution of the Parliament to the Exerciſe of their Authority, in obedience to the Commiſſion he had received from them. In his Letters to the Lieutenant General and Col. *Lambert*, he endeavoured to perſwade them to uſe their Intereſt and Power to reſtore the Parliament, declaring his own Reſolution in that Matter. I alſo received

ceived a Letter from him, wherein he acquainted me with his Intentions touching the Parliament, and desired my Assistance therein.

In this Confusion of things it was brought about, chiefly by the Interest of Sir *Henry Vane* with Col. *Lambert*, that the said Sir *Henry Vane*, Major *Saloway*, and my self, should meet and confer with Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Col. *Lambert*, Col. *Sydenham*, and Col. *Desborow*, concerning the present Condition of Affairs. Accordingly we met in one of the Council-Chambers at *Whitehall*, where Col. *Lambert* in the first place demanded of me, If I could give him my Hand. I answered, that tho according to my Information his part in the late Action appeared to me very unwarrantable; yet if it might make me more capable of serving the Publick, and recommend my Endeavours for the Peace of the Nation, and the Reconciliation of the Differences amongst us, I could not only give him my Hand but my Heart also. Then he laboured to justify his late Proceedings, protesting that he had no Intention to interrupt the Parliament till the time that he did it, and that he was necessitated to that Extremity for his own Preservation, saying, That Sir *Arthur Haslerig* was so enraged against him, that he would be satisfied with nothing but his Blood. I endeavoured to take him off from that Opinion, by telling him, that being assured of Sir *Arthur*'s sincere Affection to the Commonwealth, I could not think that he would do any thing to

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the Prejudice of thoſe that were Friends to it. I told him alſo, that according to my Notion of things, the Aim and Deſign of *Sir Arthur Haſlerig* was good, even in that matter which had been the firſt occaſion of Difference between them concerning new Titles and Powers, which had proved ſo fatal to the Parliament in former time, and which he thought very unſafe under an equal and moderate Government. I aſſured him that Sir *Arthur* had a Perſonal Reſpect for him, which he had manifeſted on ſeveral occaſions, particularly I deſired him to remember that he had prevailed with the Parliament to grant him the Command of two Regiments, and ſided with thoſe Members who were for the greateſt Sum to be given him in acknowledgment of his Service in *Cheſhire*. In concluſion, I told him that Sir *Arthur* was well known not to be of an obliging Carriage; and therefore if ever he had been uſed too roughly by him, it would become him to pardon it, and to charge it upon his Temper, eſpecially ſince he had not ſpared the beſt of his Friends, of which I gave him divers Inſtances, ſome of which related to my ſelf. After this Diſcourſe the Officers declared to us their Reſolution to do great things for the Publick Good, and preſſed us earneſtly to come amongſt them to their Committee of Safety: but we deſired to be excuſed, till ſuch time as the Common Cauſe might be ſecured to the ſatisfaction of good Men, and therefore agreed upon another

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Meeting, wherein this Affair might be fully debated. In the mean time I endeavoured to moderate the Warmth of ſome of the Parliament-Party, and to bring them to deſire a Reconciliation with the Army, that by that means the Publick might be preſerved from Ruin; and to this end a Meeting was appointed between Mr. *Scot*, Col. *Morley*, Mr. *Say*, my ſelf, and one Perſon more, whoſe Name I have forgot; where after much debate on that Subject, I ſhewed them the Addreſs which I had brought from all the Officers in *Ireland*, as well General as Inferiour, to whom it had been tendered, and informed them that the Iriſh Brigade had aſſured me at *Cheſter*, that they would continue faithful to the Parliament, and had acknowledged their Error in ſigning the Petition from *Darby*. Hereupon they deſired me to publiſh the Addreſs from *Ireland*, together with what had paſſed between the Iriſh Brigade and Me, ſuppoſing it might be of great Service in that Conjuncture. I told them I would conſider of it, and that for the preſent I had nothing to object againſt the Publication of thoſe Papers, except my Fear, that by ſo doing I might ſo far exaſperate the Army, as to render all my Offices to reconcile them to the Parliament utterly ineffectual. When the Company was ſeparated, and Mr. *Scot* and I going away together, he earneſtly preſſed me to improve the Opportunity which he ſaid I had in my hands, to be highly ſervice-

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able to the Publick, which if I neglected, I ſhould repent it as long as I had an Hour to live. I told him that I thought he laid too much Weight on my Intereſt: But yet deſired him to inform me what he thought it my Duty to do. He ſaid that I ought by all means to declare againſt the Proceedings of the Army, and to join with *Monk* in oppoſition to them. I replied, that tho I knew not what the Deſign of *Monk* might be, yet I had entertained a charitable Opinion of him, by reaſon of his Declaration for the Parliament: But that it was my Judgment, that if either the Parliament or the Army ſhould entirely prevail one againſt the other in this Juncture, it would hazard the Ruin of both; and therefore I thought my ſelf obliged in Duty to uſe the utmoſt of my Endeavours to bring them to a Reconciliation, before I ſhould think of declaring my ſelf. For as there was no appearance that the Army could long ſubſiſt without a due Proviſion for their Paiment, which the Parliament only could make to the Content of the People, eſpecially ſince the paſſing of the Vote againſt levying Money unleſs by their Authority; ſo alſo it was neceſſary for the Parliament to have the Aſſiſtance of the Army in the great Work they had before them, to eſtabliſh a juſt and equal Government in the Nation.

After this I waited on Mr. *Lenthal* the Speaker of the Parliament, and gave him alſo an Account of the State of Affairs in *Ireland*, and

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that I had many things to offer to the Parliament from that Nation, which I hoped ſpeedily to do, when he ſhould return to the Chair of the Houſe; to which end I aſſured him I would imploy all my Intereſt, being fully convinced of the Injuſtice of the Army in the late Violence, and that no Authority but that of the Parliament can render any Form of Government agreeable to the People. I acquainted him alſo with the Sentiments of the Iriſh Brigade, with all which he declared himſelf much ſatisfied; and having given me a Relation of his own Gallantry towards thoſe of the Army that had mutinied againſt him, as beforementioned, I took my leave for that time. Some of the Council of State writ Letters to Col. *Monk* to incourage him in his Reſolutions for the Parliament; and Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* ſent one Capt. *Lloyd* with an Anſwer to that which he had received from the Colonel, and to promiſe on his part all the Advantages that he could deſire. Col. *Jones*, Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, and about ſix or ſeven Officers more drew up an Anſwer to *Monk*'s Letter directed to me in *Ireland*, and ſent it to me at *London* for my approbation, together with the Letter it ſelf. Having peruſed both, I perceived a great Alteration in many of the Officers of *Ireland*, and a great Defection from their Duty. For in their Anſwer they manifeſtly took part with the Army, and required *Monk* to deſiſt from his Undertaking, charging the Blood that might be

be ſhed in this Quarrel on his Head, with much more to the ſame effect. With theſe Letters I received others from Col. *Cooper* and Maj. *Warren*, complaining of the ſaid Breach, and of the Hardſhips which they ſaid were put upon them by thoſe whom I had intruſted with the Command of the Forces, and earneſtly preſſing me to return to them. I thought my ſelf obliged to anſwer theſe Letters, and in that to Col. *Jones* I expreſſed my Diſſatisfaction with what he and ſome others had written to Col. *Monk*, wherein they had eſpouſed the Intereſts of the Army, contrary to the Truſt they had received from the Parliament and me, which thing deſerved the more blame, becauſe the Army had as yet declared for no other Government than that of a Court-Martial; whereas Col. *Monk*, whatever his Deſigns might be, had hitherto aſſerted the Authority of the Parliament. To the ſame purpoſe I writ to Col. *Cooper* and Major *Warren*, adviſing them to be careful not to join themſelves to a Faction in oppoſition to the Civil Authority of the Nation; and ſent Orders to Col. *Cooper*, who was a good Officer, and very acceptable to the beſt ſort of People in the Northern Parts, to command the Forces there, and to be vigilant on all occaſions to promote the Publick Service: And tho the Letters which had been ſent to *Ireland* by the Council of Officers at *Wallingford*-Houſe were for the preſent laid aſide; yet being informed that Endeavours were uſed privately to make them take effect, and

and to engage those Forces to the Faction of the Army, I went to Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, and desired him, that to prevent setting the Army in *Ireland* together by the Ears, the Proceedings in that matter might be let fall, telling him that if they absolutely required the Officers there to subscribe their Confederacy, it would come to pass that many of them would lay down their Commissions, and thereby a Way would be open to fill their Places with corrupt and scandalous Persons, who might not only prove the Causes of great Disorders in that Country, but also would be so fixed in their Stations, as not easily to be removed again, it being one of the Articles of their Papers, that no Officer should be displaced but by a Court-Martial. The Lieutenant General avowing that he had not foreseen either of those Inconveniences, promised to desist from any farther Prosecution of that matter.

In the mean time the Officers at *Wallingford*-House were not negligent, and having drawn up an Engagement, as I said before, they required those of the Army who desired to continue in their Imployments, to subscribe it. By this means Col. *Okey*, Col. *Morley*, Col. *Alured*, Lieutenant Col. *Farley*, and divers others who were not of their Faction, were removed from their Commands; tho Col. *Moss* and Col. *Rich* were permitted to continue in their Charges without subscribing. Col. *Rich* was the more willing to retain his Regiment, that he might be the better acquainted with

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the Deſigns of the Army, and have more Opportunities of rectifying the Miſtakes of ſuch Officers, who tho honeſt and well meaning Men, yet might happen to be deluded by the plauſible Pretences of their Superiors. But that which principally perſwaded him to continue amongſt them, was the Intereſt and Friendſhip which he had with Vice Admiral *Lawſon*, who commanded the Fleet at that time, and who very much depended upon the Advice of the Colonel for the Meaſures he ſhould take to ſerve the Publick. Their Committee of Safety alſo nominated Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Commiſſioner *Whitlock*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Major *Saloway*, Col. *Tichburn*, and Me, to conſider of a Form of Government for the three Nations, and to report our Opinions to them. And tho ſome of us were very unwilling to have any part in an Affair of this nature, yet ſeeing we were now under the Power and Government of the Sword, we reſolved to procure the beſt Settlement we could get, if we could not obtain ſuch a one as we deſired, hoping at leaſt to procure the Regulation of what was moſt amiſs. And therefore we had ſeveral Meetings on this Subject, wherein we agreed upon the principal Points in diſpute. But the greateſt Difficulty was in what manner the Reſult of our Debates ſhould receive a Sanction. The Army-Party deſired that the Forces on foot in the three Nations ſhould be drawn together, and that they, with ſuch of the People who would join with them, ſhould give their Conſent to

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the Form agreed on in a Publick Assembly. This I could not approve, but resolved, if we could come to any Agreement, to procure it to be laid before the Parliament for their Approbation, or never to assent to it.

During these Transactions, Col. *Monk* having received the Answer of Col. *Jones*, and other Officers in *Ireland*, to the Letter he had written to them, and not liking the Contents of it, seized Major *Barret*, by whom it was sent; and resolving to march for *London* with all possible Expedition, he fell upon new modelling his Men; wherein he had two notable Advantages, the one from divers of his Officers, who being of the *Wallingford*-House Party, voluntarily surrendred their Commissions to him, whose Places he immediately filled with his own Creatures: The other from the late Act of Parliament, whereby he was constituted one of the seven Generals appointed to command the Army, by virtue of which Authority he undertook so to regulate his Forces, as might be most for his purpose. Before his Departure from *Scotland*, he procured a Sum of Mony from the Scots, with which he paid his Souldiers, and thereby obliged them the more to his Service, especially at this time, when they knew the Army in *England* were in want of it, and knew not well how to raise any, having interrupted the Civil Authority, by whom alone Money may rightfully be raised. The Army Party being informed of his Design, resolved

to draw a Body of their Troops together to be ſent againſt him, with Orders, if poſſible, to poſſeſs themſelves of *Newcaſtle*, a Place of great Importance to the City of *London*, and to fight him, if an Opportunity ſhould be offered. Four thouſand Foot, and three thouſand five hundred Horſe were appointed for this Service, together with the Iriſh Brigade, commanded by Col. *Zanchey*, who notwithſtanding his late Carriage, came with great Confidence to me to receive my Orders; but I was very reſerved to him in that particular, knowing how inſtrumental he had been in promoting the preſent Diſorders. The Committee of the Army intruſted Col. *Lambert* with the Command of theſe Forces, who having diſpatched his Orders to the Souldiery that were quartered in the North to draw together, and to ſeize on the Town of *Newcaſtle*, went himſelf by Poſt for that Place. Before his Departure, he deſired thoſe who had been appointed to conſider of a Form of Government, to proceed in their Conſultations, and to ſend the Reſult of them to him, promiſing to give his Aſſent and Approbation to it. But ſome of us earneſtly preſſed that we might come to an Agreement before he began his Journy, aſſuring him that it would very much tend to facilitate his preſent Undertaking, eſpecially if the Eſtabliſhment deſigned might be ſo juſt and equal, that a good Man might reaſonably adventure his Life in the defence of it; whereas on the contrary, if things were left uncer-

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tain, and no Form of Government agreed upon, Men would not eaſily be perſwaded to engage for a Party, againſt thoſe who at leaſt pretended to act for the Civil Authority. He acknowledged the Force of theſe Reaſons, but could not be prevailed upon to ſtay till it ſhould be perfected, tho he deſired it might be ſent after him with all poſſible Expedition.

In the mean time Col. *Jones*, and thoſe Officers who were in and about *Dublin*, ſent Lieutenant Col. *Dobſon* to be their Agent in *England*, and to inform them of Publick Affairs. He had been uſed ill by *Oliver*, and unjuſtly removed from his Command; which being repreſented to me when I was there, I advanced him to be a Field Officer: But being a Man of ſlender Ability, and little acquainted with Publick Affairs, he was eaſily deluded by the fair Pretences of the *Wallingford*-Houſe Party, and became their Creature, rather than the Agent of thoſe that ſent him. And now Col. *Jones* deſpairing to prevail upon the Council of Officers, whilſt together, to ſubſcribe the Deſign of governing the three Nations by a Council of War, diſperſed them to their reſpective Quarters, and ſent the *Wallingford*-Houſe Paper to be ſubſcribed by them when they could not have an opportunity of conſulting together, accompanied with Letters from himſelf to preſs them to it: and having declared openly that if they refuſed to ſubſcribe, the Army in *England* would find a way to detain the Pay that had

been assigned to them by the Parliament; many of those who had signed an Engagement to the Parliament, which I had carried over to *England*, and therein expressed their Sorrow for the Interruption of the Civil Authority, together with their firm Resolution to adhere constantly to them for the future, were now brought to sign an Engagement directly contrary to the former. Of which being informed, I thought my self obliged to write to Col. *Jones*, and other Officers of the Army, and to expostulate with them concerning the Foulness of these Practices, that were not only contrary to their late solemn Promises, and pretended Sorrow for their former evil Compliances, but also tending in a high degree to set up the Power of the Sword upon the Ruins of the Civil Authority. Col. *Jones* in his Answer excused himself, as not having foreseen the Inconveniences of the foresaid Paper, affirming that he had only permitted it to be promoted at the incessant Importunities of others; but yet he expressed some discontent that I should lay so heavy a Charge upon him, who had undertaken his Imployment at my Desire, and had managed it according to the best of his Understanding. He concluded that he earnestly desired I would return to my Command, and ease him of the Burden that was upon him. About the same time Serjeant *Steel*, one of the Commissioners in *Ireland*, being nominated of the Committee of Safety, took that opportunity to go into *England*,

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as he had long desired to do, by whose Departure the Affairs of *Ireland* suffered much, he being generally esteemed to be a Man of great Prudence and uncorrupted Integrity. At *London* he refused to act in the Committee of Safety; and tho he sometimes went to *Wallingford* House, and discoursed with Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* and some others about things relating to a future Establishment, yet he always declared his Opinion to be, that the Parliament were the only proper Judges of that Matter, and used the best of his Endeavours that they might be restored to their Authority. After his Departure, the Commissioners of the Parliament in *Ireland* fell in with the Party of the Army, and altered their Title in the Orders and Commissions signed by them, from that of Commissioners of the Parliament, to that of Commissioners of the Commonwealth; and being informed that the Garison of *Ayre* in *Scotland* had discharged their Governour, and declared for *Monk*, they ordered a Ship of War to cruise on that Coast, to prevent their Correspondence with the Northern Parts of *Ireland*. Col. *Lambert* being now in the North of *England*, and his Forces in possession of *Newcastle*, divers Messages past between him and Col. *Monk*, the latter always declaring his Resolution, as he had done before to the Generals commissionated by the Parliament, to be assisting to them in settling the Government on the Foot of a Commonwealth, without a King,

ſingle Perſon, or Houſe of Lords: And ſeeing that the Army had begun to treat with him, he nominated Col. *Wilkes*, Col. *Knight*, and Lieutenant Col. *Clobery*, to be Commiſſioners to adjuſt the preſent Differences with thoſe of the *Wallingford*-Houſe Party.

The Iriſh Brigade, tho Col. *Zanchey* and others endeavoured to perſwade them to join heartily with thoſe of the Army, had not quite forgot our Diſcourſe at *Cheſter*, and therefore they reſolved not to engage againſt *Monk*, till they might ſee that what they were about to fight for, was worth the Hazard they were to run. To this end they ſigned a Paper in the nature of an Aſſociation, whereby they obliged themſelves to live and die together; one of the principal Officers informing me by a Letter, that if Col. *Lambert* deſigned to advance himſelf, he muſt chuſe another Pole to climb by than the Iriſh Brigade, who were fully reſolved not to aſſiſt him in ſuch an Attempt. *Lambert* being made acquainted with the foreſaid Paper, concluded that the Jealouſy they had of him aroſe from the Influence I had upon that Brigade, and thereupon wrote to Sir *Henry Vane*, deſiring him to procure a Letter from me to them, to remove that Prejudice which they had entertained againſt him. Accordingly Sir *Henry Vane* came to me, and having aſſured me that Col. *Lambert* had rather been made uſe of by the *Wallingford*-Houſe Party, than that he had been in any manner the principal Contriver of

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the late Diſorders, and that he would be an Impediment to them in their Deſign of advancing a ſingle Perſon, I conſented to deſire our Brigade that they would be careful to inform themſelves well before they ſhould determine what Courſe to take, that they might not, out of a Jealouſy of one Perſon, contribute to the Advancement of others, who might poſſibly prove to be worſe. Upon the Receipt of my Letter, which I ſent to one of the principal Officers amongſt them to be communicated to the reſt, they marched nearer to the Forces of Col. *Lambert*, who thereupon ſent me a Letter of Thanks, acknowledging that I had exerciſed my Charity to him in an extraordinary manner, conſidering the late Tranſactions; proteſting that he deſigned not the Violence that was offered to the Parliament, and was wholly innocent from promoting that Petition which had a tendency to it; that he knew not of any Interruption to be given to the Houſe, till the Day it was put in execution; and that he had no further Deſign therein, than to preſerve himſelf from Deſtruction, which he conceived was intended againſt him. He concluded with Aſſurances that he would take all Opportunities to advance the Good of the Commonwealth, and deſired my Friendſhip no farther than he ſhould act in order to that end.

About this time I went to Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, whom I knew to be of a moſt rigid and inflexible Spirit, and endeavoured as well as I could to perſwade him of the

neceſſity incumbent on us all to lay aſide our private Animoſities, and to unite our whole Strength to preſerve the Veſſel of the Commonwealth from ſinking. I deſired him to entertain a better Opinion of Sir *Henry Vane*, and ſome other Perſons than he ſeemed to have, aſſuring him that it was impoſſible to prevent that Ruin which threatned us, but by a hearty Reconciliation, and a ſolid Union amongſt our ſelves. I acknowledged his Care of the Publick in the Endeavours he had uſed to hinder the Accumulation of extraordinary Powers and Titles upon any Perſon, and to render the Sword ſubſervient to the Civil Magiſtrate. But I could not forbear to acquaint him, that in my poor Opinion, he had not taken the right way to that great End, having lately eſtranged himſelf from his antient Friends, and fallen in with the Lawyers and Clergy, putting thoſe, who would have been his principal Strength in times of Neceſſity, into deſpair of receiving any good from him, and relying upon Men whoſe Principles and Practices are inconſiſtent with a juſt and equal Government. I agreed with him that nothing could recover us from the preſent Confuſions, but the Reſtitution of the Parliament to their Authority; tho I thought my ſelf obliged to add, that if he and others ſhould return to the Exerciſe of their Power with a Spirit of Revenge againſt thoſe that had wronged them and the Publick, and not rather contribute their utmoſt to reconcile all thoſe whoſe Intereſts were involved in that of the Commonwealth,

wealth, they would certainly ruin themſelves, and every one that wiſhed well to the Parliament and the Common Cauſe. Sir *Arthur* ſeemed ſo ſenſible of the Truth of what I had ſaid, that he aſſured me, if ever he returned to ſit in Parliament, and thereupon ſhewed himſelf revengeful to any Man, he would permit me to ſpit in his Face. In the mean time many Members of the Parliament had frequent Meetings with their Friends to conſult about the moſt proper means to be uſed for their Reſtitution, to which I was never called, they having conceived a Suſpicion that I had too much ſided with the Army. And on the other ſide, thoſe of the Army were jealous of me, as indeed they had more Cauſe, for my Adherence to the Parliament. For I had openly declared my Diſſatisfaction with their late Proceedings, and my Doubts of the Sincerity of their Proteſtations to improve their Power to the Publick Advantage. I had refuſed to be preſent at their Committee of Safety, or in that of Nominations, tho conſiſting of the ſame Perſons the Parliament had formerly appointed, excepting only Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*. And being one day in the next Room to that where they uſed to ſit, and Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, with others, preſſing me to go in, telling me, that they wanted one to make a *Quorum*, and that the Officers to be approved were honeſt Men, and ſuch as I eſteemed; yet I utterly refuſed to have any thing to do with them.

But

But Sir *Henry Vane* and Major *Saloway* did prevail with themſelves to act with them in their Committees, and to diſcharge the Office of Commiſſioners of the Navy, to which they had been nominated by the Parliament, and continued by the Officers of the Army.

It being reſolved by the Members of Parliament to open a way if poſſible for their Return to the Houſe, they prevailed with Col. *Whetham*, then Governour of *Portſmouth*, to admit Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, Col. *Walton*, and Col. *Morley*, with ſome Forces into that important Place: Who thereupon immediately declared for the Parliament, and iſſued out Orders for more Forces to come to their Aſſiſtance. They alſo diſpatched Letters to *Monk* to warrant his Undertaking, and invited the Fleet to join with them. The Commiſſioners that had been appointed by Col. *Monk* to treat with thoſe of the Army, had no ſmall part in promoting this Diverſion of the Forces of the Army; yet to colour their Deſigns, they endeavoured at the ſame time to lay aſleep the *Wallingford*-houſe Party, and to make them believe that they deſigned nothing more than a good Underſtanding with them. By which Artifice they cauſed them to neglect thoſe means which they had in their hands to reduce *Monk* and his Party, who were not to be compared with the Forces of the Army either for Number, Experience, or Unanimity. For tho by his ſolemn Proteſtations and publick Declaration

on of his firm Reſolution to adhere to the Parliament and their Cauſe againſt a King, ſingle Perſon, or Houſe of Peers, he had deluded divers of thoſe who were at a diſtance from him, and who from their Enmity to the Faction of the Army, were ready to truſt any that might probably reſcue them from that Servitude; yet thoſe who approached him nearer, and underſtood him better, finding him on all occaſions to encourage the moſt vicious, and to prefer Men of Monarchical Principles, tho of the moſt ſcandalous Lives, to all the Offices that became vacant, ſaw ſo clearly into the Driſt of his Deſign, that moſt of the Officers who had any Senſe of Religion or common Honeſty abandoned him, and joined themſelves to Col. *Lambert*; and after them about three hundred Horſemen, leaving their Horſes and Equipage behind them, did the ſame. But this proved very prejudicial in the conſequence to the Publick Service. For thoſe Officers that deſerted *Monk* gave him an opportunity of filling their Commands with his own Creatures, whereas if they had continued with him, they might have had a conſiderable Influence upon the whole Party, to make uſe of as Opportunities had offered. The Horſe likewiſe that abandoned him made room for others, who were mounted and equipped without Expence, and compoſed of ſuch as were fit for his purpoſe. Yet for all this the Treaty went on between him and the Army, and ſeemed to draw near

to

to a Concluſion, it being agreed that he ſhould have one part of a Sum of Money that had been appointed to pay his Forces: That he ſhould be one of their Committee for the Nomination of Officers to ſuch Places as ſhould be vacant in the Army: That a Repreſentative of the People ſhould be called with all convenient ſpeed; and to that end Commiſſioners ſhould be appointed by the Military Power of the three Nations, to conſider and agree upon the Qualifications of ſuch as might be elected, and ſit as Members. Accordingly thoſe entruſted by *Monk* nominated Mr. *Scot*, Sir *James Harrington*, and Col. *Thompſon*, on their part: Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Sir *Henry Vane*, and Major *Saloway*, were appointed for the Army or *Wallingford*-houſe Party; and on the part of the Forces in *Ireland*, Col. *Barrow* and Lieutenant Colonel *Dobſon* were joined with me to be Commiſſioners to conſider of the Qualifications of the Perſons to be elected, as aforeſaid. A General Council of Officers was alſo appointed to meet at *Whitehall* on a certain day, and to conſiſt of two Perſons of each Regiment in the three Nations, to be choſen by the Officers of the ſeveral Regiments. It was deſired alſo, that the Fleet would ſend their Deputies to this Aſſembly, who were to prepare Matters for the Conſideration of the Repreſentative that they pretended to call. I was altogether a Stranger to theſe Counſels, the Articles having been drawn up by a private Junto; yet I know

know not how, I was perſwaded to be preſent when they were read to the Council of Officers for their Approbation, where I abſolutely refuſed to conſent to any part of it, except that whereby two of each Regiment in the three Nations were propoſed to meet in a General Council. Which I accounted to be the moſt probable way of finding out the true Senſe of the Armies, into whoſe hands the Power was moſt unhappily fallen, and much leſs diſhonourable if not more ſafe than to continue longer under the Servitude of the Faction at *Wallingford*-houſe, who had preſumed to give Law both to the Parliament and the Army. I cannot omit that at this Meeting ſome Perſons having moved that the Commiſſioners from *Monk* might be required to produce their Powers, that it might appear whether he would ſtand obliged to what ſhould be agreed, they could not be perſwaded to ſhew any Orders from him to that purpoſe; and yet Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* and his Cabinet Council were contented to treat with them, tho they had never ſeen any Commiſſion that they had. And now it began to be ſuſpected that the Deſign of *Clobery* and the reſt of the Commiſſioners was only to prolong the Treaty in which they were engaged, that the Forces of the Army might be kept from attacking *Monk*, which he was afraid of, having found his own Party wavering and doubtful. They well knew, that if they could ſpin out the Time in Treaty till the expi-

expiration of the Taxes that had been laid by the Parliament, which would happen in the Month of *January* next enſuing, the Army would then be driven to great Straits for want of Money, wherewith *Monk*'s Forces had been ſupplied by the Scots. Of this Sir *Henry Vane* was very ſenſible, and gave both Army and Parliament for loſt when they began to treat. But the Chief Officers of the Army having already parted with their Honeſty by driving on their own private Intereſt, were now reſolved to ſhake hands with their Reaſon alſo, and ſent down to *Scotland* one Dr. *Clarges*, Brother to *Monk*'s Wife, and a known Royaliſt, with a Commiſſion to perſwade him to an Accommodation with them. They diſpatched alſo ſome Forces for the Reduction of *Portſmouth*, but gave the Command of them to ſuch as were either little acquainted with their Souldiers, or inclining in their Affections to the Parliament. And tho they knew not how to procure Money for the Paiment of their Standing Army, they raiſed the Militia in divers parts, and gave out Commiſſions for Horſe and Foot to be levied, promiſing Pay to all. Some of them earneſtly ſolicited me to raiſe two Regiments, one of Horſe, and another of Foot; but I told them, they had already as many as they could pay, and I feared more than would be well employed. They endeavoured all this while to keep fair with Sir *Henry Vane*, Major *Saloway*, and Me, making large Proteſtations of the Sincerity

of

of their Intentions, and the great Designs they had to promote the Service of the Publick, hoping that by our continuing to come amongst them, it would come to pass that those who had a good Opinion of us would extend it also to them and their Actions. But they were obliged to discover themselves more openly on the following occasion. The Parliament had manifested before the last Interruption, an Inclination to ease the People of the Paiment of Tithes, and in lieu of them to appropriate a certain Sum of Money for the Maintenance and Encouragement of the Ministry, to be distributed in a more equal manner than had been formerly practised; hoping, if this could be effected, that the Clergy would no longer have any other Interest to promote than that of the whole Commonwealth, nor be a distinct Party from the People. It was well known also to the Lawyers, that they still retained the Design of regulating the Practice of the Law, and relieving the People in that Particular. These two Parties therefore being equally concerned to perpetuate the Abuses practised amongst them, became equally sensible of the common Dangers. And in order to prevent it, *Whitlock* and *St. Johns* for the Lawyers, with Dr. *Owen* and Mr. *Nye* for the Clergy, who at this time had frequent Meetings in the *Savoy*, entred into a private Treaty with the principal Persons of the *Wallingford*-house Party, and offered to raise a hundred thousand Pounds for the

Use

Uſe of the Army, upon aſſurance of being protected by them in the full Enjoyment of their reſpective Advantages and Profits ; with this farther Condition, that they ſhould oblige themſelves not to hearken any longer to the Advice of Sir *Henry Vane*. Whereby we were left deſtitute of Hope to ſee any other Reformation of the Clergy than what they themſelves would conſent to, any other Regulation of the Law than the Chief Juſtice and the Commiſſioner of the Seal would permit, or any more Liberty for tender Conſciences than the Lord *Warriſton* would be pleaſed to grant, who repreſenting the Scotiſh Intereſt, made up the third Eſtate of our Reformation.

I began now to think all my time loſt that I had ſpent in endeavouring to reconcile our broken and divided Counſels, and had no hopes left, but from the General Council of Officers, which was to conſiſt of two Perſons to be nominated by each Regiment in the three Nations, as I ſaid before. In order to this Meeting, Warrants were ſigned and iſſued out for their Election to the Armies in *England* and *Ireland*; and *Monk*'s Commiſſioners departed for *Scotland* to procure, as they ſaid, all things to be done there according to their Agreement. But *Monk* kept himſelf upon the Reſerve, and inſtead of making good what his Commiſſioners had promiſed, he deſired time to conſider of the Articles of the Treaty, and required an Explanation of ſeveral Particulars therein contained:

So

So that much time was ſpent in Meſſages between him and *Lambert*. Amongſt others Col. *Zanchey* was ſent to tempt him with Promiſes and Offers of Advantage, but he having ſtruck a bargain in another Place, made uſe of *Zanchey*'s Preſence only to keep the Army-Party in expectation of his Compliance, thereby gaining time, which he knew would ſhortly bring the Affairs of the Army to the laſt Extremities. He gave out no Orders to the Regiments that were with him to elect Members for the General Council of Officers, as had been agreed by his Commiſſioners, but formed new Difficulties every day to avoid confirming the Treaty; and under pretence that Col. *Wilkes*, one of his Commiſſioners, had too much inclined to the Intereſt of the Army, he diſmiſſed him from his Command. Notwithſtanding which, ſuch Folly and Stupidity had ſeized thoſe of the Army, that upon looſe and general Promiſes of Compliance they continued their Correſpondence with him. The Time fixed for the Meeting of the General Council of Officers being come, tho the Deputies from *Ireland* were not arrived, nor any from the Army under Col. *Lambert*; and tho it was well known that none were choſen to repreſent the Forces with *Monk* in *Scotland*, yet thoſe of *Wallingford*-houſe reſolved to act as if they had all been preſent. I had written to ſome of the Officers in *Ireland*, that if they ſhould take a Reſolution to ſend any Perſons to this Council, they would do

well to make choice of such as were most inclined to the Restitution of the Parliament; but that, as to my own particular, I was not willing to have any thing to do amongst them. Notwithstanding which I soon received a Letter by the hands of Col. *Salmon* from the Officers in *Ireland*, to desire me to act for them at the General Council; which having imparted to some of my Friends, and they concurring to encourage me to it, I would not refuse to serve them. Being in the Council, I did what I could to procure the Restitution of the Parliament, wherein I was much assisted by Col. *Rich*. Five or six days we spent in a Debate concerning the Form of Government, which had been drawn up, as I said before, expecting the Arrival of those that should be chosen for *Ireland*, *Scotland*, and the Army in the North of *England*. During which time Col. *Rich* and I took frequent Occasions of informing the Officers concerning the Publick Affairs, desiring them to be cautious of engaging themselves in any Design, of which they might have Cause afterwards to repent, and exhorting them to contribute their Endeavours towards settling such a Government as all good Men might concur in, and live happily under. We met with such Success in our Discourses with the Officers, that tho' the *Wallingford*-house Party had influenced the Elections as much as they could, and under pretence that the Fleet was at too great a distance, and divided into too many Squadrons to

be

be in a capacity of chuſing in due time, had cauſed the Committee of the Admiralty to nominate whom they pleaſed to ſerve for the Fleet, yet they found their Wheels to move ſo ſlowly, that to facilitate their Buſineſs they were obliged to ſend away divers Officers to their Commands, under colour that their Preſence was neceſſary in their reſpective Stations, by reaſon of the Dangers that threatned them from all Parts; when indeed, the true Reaſon of their Diſmiſſion was taken from the Diſſatisfaction they began to ſhew with the Proceedings of the Chief Officers. By theſe and other means it came to paſs that the Grandees of the Army reſolved to ſpend no more time in the Debate touching the Form of Government, and therefore deſired a Conference with Sir *Henry Vane* and Major *Saloway*, who being unwilling to meet them without me, prevailed with me to accompany them to *Walling ford*-houſe; where Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* expreſſed great Uneaſineſs on account of the Publick Diſtractions, and deſired them to adviſe him what meaſures to take to remove the preſent Difficulties, and to prevent greater Miſchiefs which ſeemed impending over us. Theſe Gentlemen ſuſpecting the Deſigns of *Fleetwood* and his Party, kept themſelves on their Guard, and in an ironical manner told him, that the moſt certain way to cure all things would be to ſet up *Richard* again. Juſt as I thought, ſaid *Fleetwood*, it has happened, that the coming of

my Lord *Richard* to *Hampton-Court* would give an Occaſion of Jealouſy, and then proteſted that his Removal thither proceeded from himſelf, that he had not been adviſed to it by them, and that they had no Intention to ſet him up again. We believed what we thought moſt reaſonable concerning his Removal to that Place. But to that of his Reſtitution, Major *Saloway* asked them, whether things might not be brought to that paſs as to make it neceſſary, tho they intended it not? which *Fleetwood* denying, the Major preſſed him farther, and deſired to know from him, if it were not poſſible that the Neceſſity of our Affairs might oblige us to a Compliance with *Charles Stuart*. Thus they ſtood upon their Guard on both Parts, not adventuring to truſt one another; that mutual Confidence by which they had done ſo much being intirely loſt. However that I might not be wanting on my part, I told them with my uſual Freedom, that the Reſtitution of the Parliament ſeemed to me to be the only Remedy to recover us from our preſent Diſtempers, and to prevent the fatal Conſequences of our Diviſions. To this the Lieutenant General anſwered, that according to an Agreement made between them and Major General *Lambert* before his Departure, nothing could be done in that Matter without mutual Conſent; and ſo we parted with as little Satisfaction on either ſide as we brought with us. From them I went to the Council of Officers

who were then assembled, and was much surprized to find them debating whether a New Parliament should be called, and ready to go to the Question; which I doubted not would pass in the Affirmative, having observed that it met with little Opposition, except from Col. *Rich*. And tho I had but little hope to obstruct the Design, yet that I might discharge my Duty, I took the liberty to lay before them the Injustice and Vanity of such a Resolution, endeavouring to prove that as they had no Authority to warrant them in that Attempt, so neither would it be of any Advantage to the Nation if it should succeed. I desired them to consider how great an Enterprize they were about to undertake, without any sufficient Authority to justify them in it: That they could not pretend to any from the Parliament, and that it was as evident they had none from the Nations, no not from the Military part of them, the Deputies from *Scotland* and *Ireland* being not arrived, nor any from the Army in the North of *England*: That at least one third part of the Officers present were against their Design; and that it seemed to me to be an unaccountable Presumption for two thirds of about a fourth part of the Army to undertake to put a Period to the Civil Authority. I endeavoured to perswade them that the Design was as vain and foolish as unwarrantable and unjust; for by this means they would utterly disoblige the Parliament and all their Friends, who were very numerous:

That *Monk* having declared againſt them already, and the greateſt Number of their own Body diſapproving the thing, it would come to paſs, that all things would be brought into a miſerable Confuſion; and it may be the Common Enemy would find means to return, and utterly deſtroy the contending Parties. But their Reſolution being already taken, in conſequence of the Agreement they had made with the Clergy and Lawyers, we could obtain no more than a Reſpite of the Concluſion of this Debate till the Afternoon. Going out of the Council, I deſired Col. *Desborow*, whoſe Intereſt I knew to be very great with the reſt, that he would deſiſt from the farther proſecution of this Deſign, repreſenting to him, as well as I could, the Confuſions and Miſchiefs that would inevitably enſue upon it. To which he anſwered, that the Parliament had deceived them twice, and that they were now reſolved to put it out of their Power to do it again. In the Afternoon the Debate was reaſſumed; and a Motion being made that they would take the Reſtitution of the Parliament into their Conſideration, Col. *Desborow*, to keep his Word, did what he could to aſperſe the Parliament, ſaying, that they had not performed any part of the Promiſes that had been made for them before their firſt Return to the Houſe, having made no Proviſion for the Lord *Richard*, as he called him, nor granted a ſatisfactory Indemnity; but by the Inſertion of divers oblique Clauſes

had

had rendred it absolutely ineffectual: That they had taken no care to secure a Liberty to tender Consciences, nor to provide for the Publick Safety by establishing a Select Senate: That they had manifested their Unworthiness not only in these Negatives, but had also positively declared their Intentions to ruin the Army, by removing the Principal Officers, and placing others in their Commands who were of a different Spirit and Principles, and by drawing up one part of the Army against the other, in order to destroy both. For which Reasons he declared his Opinion to be, that to reinvest those with Authority who were so manifestly unfit for that Trust, would prove the worst of all the Expedients that could be proposed. To this Discourse I thought my self obliged to make some Answer, and therefore took the Freedom to say, That the Parliament being Men, were liable to Passions, and subject to Imperfections, but that it might be said without Immodesty, that they had been chargeable with as few as any of their Predecessors, and possibly fewer than those that had pretended to succeed them: That they were the only Number of Men that had any legal Call to the Supream Authority: That God had eminently appeared for them, and wonderfully assisted them to subdue all those that had opposed them both at home and abroad: That they had been so frugal of the Publick Purse, that upon the first Interruption by *Cromwel* a vast Sum was

found in the Treaſury, tho their Armies and Fleets had been fully paid, and their Magazines plentifully furniſhed with Naval Stores. How theſe Advantages had been improved by thoſe that had uſurped their Authority, was well known; and how the Armies and Fleets had been paid, they themſelves were the beſt Judges. At the Return of the Parliament to the Exerciſe of their Authority, in the place of thoſe vaſt Sums they had left in the Publick Coffers, they found a Debt of two Millions and four hundred thouſand Pounds contracted by thoſe who had taken upon them the Management of Affairs. I deſired them to obſerve how unjuſtly the Parliament was accuſed of breaking their Promiſes, who had promiſed nothing: That ſome of us indeed as private Men had engaged to promote certain things in the Houſe at the Requeſt of ſome Officers of the Army; but at the ſame time we acquainted them, that we could not anſwer for any thing except our own ſincere Endeavours in that Affair. And yet I appealed to themſelves, if the Parliament had not done thoſe things, in which we had promiſed our Endeavours, having undertaken to pay more than thirty thouſand Pounds for Mr. *Richard Cromwel*, whereby he would be left in the clear Poſſeſſion of about eight thouſand Pounds a Year, beſides Woods, Plate, Jewels, and other things of Value: having paſſed that very Clauſe for Liberty of Conſcience which had been brought in by the

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Officers themſelves in their Addreſs; and having indemnified the Souldiery in as full and ample manner as could be deſired, with reſpect to their paſt Actions, not only Military but Civil alſo; with this only Reſervation, that the Parliament might, if they ſhould find Cauſe, call to account ſuch as had received Bribes and exorbitant Salaries, which was only deſigned as a Check upon thoſe who had been and ſtill were Enemies to the Commonwealth. As to what related to the Chief Officers of the Army, I told them it had been made good to a tittle; for they had continued Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* to be Commander in Chief of all their Forces in *England* and *Scotland:* But if it was their Intention that he ſhould be Commander in Chief of the Parliament alſo, I confeſſed my ſelf perſwaded that it never had entred into the Head of any of thoſe Perſons before-mentioned, to engage for that; and therefore what the Parliament did in cauſing him and the reſt of the Officers to take their Commiſſions from them, and inſerting a Clauſe in that of the Commander in Chief, that it ſhould continue during this Parliament, or till their farther Order, was no way contrary to the Promiſe of the ſaid Gentlemen. Neither could it be a juſt Ground of Exception to thoſe of the Army, if their Intentions were ſuch as they ought to be; for the Parliament being embarqued in the ſame Veſſel, would find it neceſſary, as well for their own Security, as for

that

that of the People, to leave the Sword in faithful Hands at the time of their Diſſolution, which they had fixed by a Vote of the Houſe. And ſince they ſtill inſiſted upon their Select Senate, I deſired them to remember that I had declared in the Conference my Opinion to be, That if ſuch a thing could be made uſe of for a time to preſerve our Cauſe by an Extraordinary Power, I thought I ſhould not be againſt it without better Information; but if they deſigned thereby to erect a Military Power, in equal or ſuperiour Authority to the Civil, I ſhould oppoſe it to the utmoſt of my Ability: And had farther added, that I was fully perſwaded I therein delivered the Senſe and Intentions of the greateſt part of the Parliament. To this they could make no Reply, being conſcious of the Truth of what I ſaid; but having made an Agreement with the Clergy, as I ſaid before, that uſed to meet at the *Savoy*, they reſolved to purſue it, and concluded, that conſidering the preſent poſture of Affairs a New Parliament ſhould be called, as the moſt probable means to reconcile all Differences. They agreed alſo with the Miniſters, that their Maintenance by Tithes ſhould not be taken away till another Revenue as ample and certain ſhould be ſettled upon them: That ſome Proviſion ſhould be made for thoſe who differed in Faith and Worſhip from the Eſtabliſhed Church; but that the Quakers and ſome others, whoſe Principles, they ſaid, tended to the Deſtruction of the Civil Society, ſhould not be tolerated at all. Whilſt

Whilſt the Army was thus employed, the Parliament Party was not wanting to promote their Intereſt, and to that end formed a Deſign to get the Tower into their hands. Colonel *Fitz*, who was then Lieutenant of the Place, had conſented that Colonel *Okey*, with three hundred Men, ſhould lie diſperſed about the Tower, prepared for the Enterprize, promiſing that on a certain day he would cauſe the Gates to be opened early in the Morning, to let him paſs in his Coach; which Opportunity Col. *Okey* with his Men taking, might eaſily ſeize the Guards, and poſſeſs himſelf of the Place: and their Attempt might have ſucceeded, had it not, by I know not what Accident, been diſcovered to the Lord Mayor, who informed the Army of it the Night before it was to be put in execution. Whereupon Col. *Desborow*, with ſome Forces, was ſent thither, who changed the Guards, ſeized the Lieutenant of the Tower, and left Col. *Miller* to command there till farther Order. Another Party appeared for the Parliament in *Wiltſhire*, under the Command of Major *Croke*; who having told divers of my Friends in that County, that the principal Reaſons of his Diſſatisfaction with the Proceedings of the Army had been taken from what I had ſaid in the late Council of Officers, he prevailed with divers of them to ſide with him, and ſo marched towards *Portſmouth*, in order to join Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* and Col. *Morley*, who had already poſſeſſed

poſſeſſed themſelves of that Place, and declared for the Reſtitution of the Parliament. About the ſame time *Hurſt*-Caſtle was ſecured for the Parliament, whereby the Communication of thoſe in the *Iſle of Wight* with *England* being rendred very difficult, they declared for the Parliament alſo. The Fleet began to incline to the ſame Counſels, and diſpatched a Meſſenger to Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* at *Portſmouth*, to aſſure him, they would do nothing in oppoſition to them. In this Conjuncture the Parliament Party reſolved to ſend Col. *Walton*, who was one of them, to communicate the preſent State of Affairs to Col. *Monk*, and to adviſe him what meaſures he ſhould take.

In the mean time the *Wallingford*-houſe Party, as if infatuated by a ſuperiour Power to procure their own Deſtruction, continued obſtinately to oppoſe the Parliament, and fixed in their Reſolution to call another. On the other ſide, I was ſorry to find moſt of the Parliament Men as ſtiff, in requiring an abſolute Submiſſion to their Authority, as if no Differences had happened amongſt us, nor the Privileges of Parliament ever been violated, peremptorily inſiſting upon the intire Subjection of the Army, and refuſing to hearken to any Terms of Accommodation, tho the Neceſſity of Affairs ſeemed to demand it, if we would preſerve our Cauſe from Ruin. Therefore, tho I had reſolved to depart with all convenient ſpeed to my Charge in *Ireland*, yet I was induced to defer

fer my Journey for ſome time, at the Solicitation of my Friends, who perſwaded themſelves that I might have Intereſt enough with both Parties to procure an Accommodation between them. To that end I took all occaſions to moderate the Spirits of the Members of Parliament; and that I might not render my ſelf ſuſpected to the Officers, I continued to frequent their Councils, which I was the more willing to do, becauſe the Iriſh Brigade that was with Col. *Lambert* had ſignified to the Council of Officers, that they had choſen me with Lieutenant Col. *Walker*, and two Gentlemen more whoſe Names I cannot recollect, to repreſent them at their Meetings.

At this time Col. *Lockart* Governour of *Dunkirk* finding his Work at an end abroad by the Concluſion of a Peace between the Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, returned to *England*; and coming to wait on Sir *Henry Vane* one day at his Houſe, it was my fortune to be there at the ſame time. In the Converſation we had, he very much lamented the Diviſions that were among us, affirming that if they had not proved an Obſtruction to him in his Negotiations, we might have had what Terms we could have asked either from *France* or *Spain*.

The Army having reſolved, as I ſaid before, to call a new Parliament, and many Difficulties ariſing amongſt them touching that matter, they referred the Conſideration of it to their Committee of Safety, who having ſpent ſome time

time in the Debate, reported as their Opinion to the Council of Officers, That the beſt way to be taken for ſummoning a Parliament would be to act therein according to antient Cuſtom, directing only ſome few Qualifications to be obſerved as well in the Electors as in the Perſons to be elected. Which when I perceived, and that no Rules for Qualifications could poſſibly be given and executed within the time appointed for the Parliament to meet, and that the Deſign of the Army tended manifeſtly to have ſuch a Parliament as would permit the Men of the Sword to poſſeſs themſelves of the Supream Authority; or if they ſhould refuſe to be brought to that, then, being a Creature of the Army, they ſhould be diſmiſſed with Scorn, and the Power reſumed by the Military Men: For the prevention of theſe Miſchiefs I propoſed to the Council of Officers that the Eſſentials of our Cauſe might be clearly ſtated, and declared inviolable by any Authority whatſoever; and that in caſe any Difference ſhould hereafter ariſe between the Parliament and the Army touching thoſe Particulars or any of them, a certain number of Perſons of known Integrity might be appointed by this Council finally to determine the matter. The Council having without much difficulty agreed to this Propoſition, I preſumed to proceed farther; and being fully perſwaded that if ſuch a Power were conferred upon honeſt and diſintereſted Perſons, it would give more ſatisfaction to good Men,

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and better provide for the Publick Safety, than to have the final Decision of all things left to a Mercenary Army, I adventured to give in a List of one and twenty Persons for that Service, who should be called *Conservators of Liberty*. Then we went upon the Debate of such Particulars as should be referred to their Cognizance and Judgment, which were as followeth:

1. That the Government should not be altered from a Commonwealth, by setting up a King, single Person, or House of Peers.
2. That Liberty of Conscience should not be violated.
3. That the Army should not be diminished, their Conduct altered, nor their Pay lessened without the Consent of the major part of the Conservators.

Having proceeded thus far, it was resolved to put the Names of the Persons contained in the List to the Vote of the Council for their Approbation, which was done in this manner. Every one of the Council having received two small Pieces of Paper, in one of which was written an N for the Negative, and in the other an A for the Affirmative, when the Candidate's Name was proposed, every Man put which of those he pleased into a Hat; which done, the Papers were taken out, and being found to agree for number with the Persons there

there present, if the greater number of Papers were marked with the Letter A, then the Person proposed was accounted to be chosen, otherwise to be omitted. I had contrived it so that the Names of the first seven or eight Persons of the List were Officers of their own Party, except Major *Saloway* and Sir *Henry Vane*, by which means chiefly it came to pass that the two last passed without Opposition: But then they made a Breach upon the Order, and having put my Name to the Question against my Will, I was approved. Which when they had done, Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* proposed Col. *Tichburn*, one who had lately moved to set up *Richard Cromwel* again, and after him the Lord *Warriston*, who had publickly declared against Liberty of Conscience, with Mr. *Strickland*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, and two or three more, all of their Faction, and procured them to be chosen in the room of Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, Mr. *Wallop*, Col. *Walton*, Col. *Morley*, Mr. *Henry Nevil*, and Col. *Monk*, who were next in order upon the List, and with whom I designed to balance the *Wallingford*-House Party. But by putting in these Creatures in their Places, it was evident they designed nothing less than to draw the whole Power into their own Hands; and lest we should doubt of their Intentions, they gave an Exclusion to Col. *Rich*, tho present, and a considerable Officer in the Army, because they suspected him not to favour their Arbitrary Designs, Here my Patience

ence began to leave me, and I told them openly that seeing they intended only to carry on a Faction, and to govern the Nation by the Sword, I resolved to have no more to do with them, and thereupon refused to give in my Billet upon the Names of the six or seven Persons that were last proposed: but they compleated their Number, and in the next Publick Intelligence caused the Names of those one and twenty Persons, whom they had elected to be the Conservators of Liberty, to be published to the World, with notice of their Resolution to summon a new Parliament, thinking thereby to please the People: but they were mistaken, for no Man that loved his Country could approve of it. And the Cavalier Party conceived such Hopes of their own Affairs, that they grew impatient of any further Delays, and designed the Destruction of the Army by open Force. To that end divers of their Party, who had fled to Parts beyond the Seas, returned secretly to *London*, and entred into the Confederacy. The time of putting their Design in execution was agreed, and the Places of Rendezvouz being ten in number, all in and about the City, were appointed: But it happened again that the Army received Information of the Conspiracy the Evening before it should have been executed, and being alarmed at the Danger, they immediately sent divers Parties of Horse and Foot to take possession of those Places which were appointed by the Enemy for their drawing

together; by which means they ſeized ſome of them, who at twelve a Clock the ſame Night were already come together compleatly arm'd on a part of the Temple near the Water-ſide. Others of the ſame Company got over the Walls, and eſcaped in Boats. They took alſo at an Inn in *London* thirty Horſes with Saddles and Holſters, and as many Men ready to mount them. Many more of the Conſpirators were taken at the ſeveral Places of Rendezvouz, where the Army had placed their Guards; and ſome of them confeſſed that the Officer who commanded the Party that was placed near *Pauls Church* had promiſed to join with them; which was not improbable, he being one of thoſe who having never engaged in our Cauſe, was advanced by *Oliver Cromwel* as his Creature, and ſent to *Dunkirk*, from whence he had been lately recalled by the Army, whoſe Ambition he had throughly ſeconded by his Votes in the Council of Officers. And tho this Storm was by the Vigilance and Care of the Army pretty well diſperſed; yet their inſolent and arbitrary Actions gave birth to other Clouds that threatned them with Ruin more than the former. For ſoon after, the Officers that commanded the Fleet publiſhed a Declaration againſt the Arbitrary Proceedings of the *Wallingford*-Houſe Party, rehearſing the Particulars for which they had engaged in the Publick Service, and declaring their Reſolution to continue faithful to thoſe Engagements.

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This Declaration came out somewhat earlier than was intended, by reason of the Arrival of Col. *Okey* and Mr. *Scot* in the Fleet, who were obliged to go thither for Protection from the Power of the Army, the former being known to have had the principal Share in the Design of seizing the Tower for the Parliament: The other was not only suspected to have been concerned in that Affair, but also to keep Correspondence with the Generals at *Portsmouth*, and with Col. *Monk* in *Scotland*. The Army hoping to quiet the Fleet with fair Words and large Promises, dispatched Col. *Barrow* to them, supposing him to be a proper Person to be imployed to lay them asleep, because they knew he had the good Opinion of Vice Admiral *Lawson*, and indeed not undeservedly, for he was a Man of Probity; and tho he had been in some measure seduced by their Subtleties, yet he was not a Confident of their Junto. But the Vice Admiral was too well acquainted with the pernicious Designs of the Army to be cajoled into a Retractation of what he had done.

The Cavalier Party about *London* finding themselves disappointed in their Design of destroying the Army by an Insurrection, attempted to do it another way, and to that end encouraged the Apprentices to meet in great Multitudes to petition the Aldermen and Common Council, that they would use their Endeavours to procure a Free Parliament to be speedily cal-

led, well knowing what the Conſequence of that would be in the preſent Conjuncture of Affairs. Many Men of the King's Party, and of deſperate Fortunes, intermixed themſelves with them, and inflamed them to ſuch a height of Violence, that the Army thought it neceſſary to ſend a Regiment of Foot to ſuppreſs them under the Command of Col. *Hewetſon*; who when he was come into the City, was affronted to his Face, his Men fired upon from the Windows, and Stones thrown on them from the Tops of the Houſes; and as they proceeded in their March were ſo preſſed by the Multitude, that the Souldiers to preſerve themſelves from their Violence, were obliged to fire upon them, and having killed three or four of their number, the reſt diſperſed themſelves for that time: But Tumults were now become ſo frequent in the City, that the Army-Party found themſelves obliged to ſend conſiderable Guards thither almoſt every day to ſuppreſs them; one of which being commanded by Col. *Deſborough*, carried themſelves ſo roughly towards divers eminent Citizens, that they greatly diſguſted the whole City. The Aldermen and Common Council not thinking it convenient openly to patronize theſe Diſorders, agreed upon a Paper to be preſented to the Council of Officers, wherein having diſowned the late Tumults, they complained of the killing of their Men, and of the Guards that were kept in the City, deſiring that they might be withdrawn,

and

and the Guard of the City left to the Civil Magistrate, who could not otherwise undertake to secure the Peace, and that a Free Parliament might be forthwith called. This Paper was brought to the Council of Officers by divers Members of the Court of Aldermen and of the Common Council; and being read, it was resolved by those of the Army, that if the Aldermen and Common Council would declare against the Family of the *Stuarts*, and promise to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth without a King, single Person, or House of Lords, they would withdraw their Souldiers, and leave the City to be guarded by it self. They acquainted them also that they had already resolved to call a Parliament: and for the farther Satisfaction of the Aldermen and Common Council, they appointed six of their own number, whereof they constrained me to be one, to confer with them touching the Reasons of these Resolutions, and of the late Proceedings of the Army in the City. We met at *Whitehal*, and after Col. *Desborough* had spent some time in shewing the necessity of sending part of the Army to secure the Peace of the City, and had made large Protestations of the Army's Friendship to them, I took the Liberty to say that those who were Members of the Army could best inform them of their own Intentions in the late Proceedings in the City, wherein I should not intermeddle; but having this Opportunity, and being a Well-wisher to the

Commonwealth, I would take upon me to put them in mind, that we had all been engaged together in the defence of our Rights and Liberties againſt Arbitrary Power; that the City had been eminently inſtrumental in aſſiſting the Parliament and Army to carry on that weighty Affair, whereby they had acquired Honour to themſelves, Eſteem amongſt good Men, and Satisfaction in their own Minds. But withal it ought to be conſidered that by this they had highly incenſed and vehemently provoked the Common Enemy againſt them, who tho they might careſs them for the preſent, and make them the moſt ſolemn Promiſes of future Kindneſs, would never forget the Aid and Support they had afforded to the Parliament during the whole Courſe of the late War; but would certainly take a time to be revenged on them to the utmoſt. Wherefore I deſired them, as they tendred the Peace of the Nation, and the Preſervation of their Perſons and Eſtates, that they would not ſuffer themſelves to be deluded by our Common Adverſaries, and ſeduc'd by ſpecious Pretences to promote that Intereſt, which prevailing, would not only render all the Blood and Treaſure that had been ſpent in aſſerting our Liberties of no uſe to us, but alſo force us under ſuch a Yoke of Servitude, that neither we nor our Poſterity ſhould be able to bear. Divers of them ſeemed much ſurprized at this Diſcourſe, becauſe they had taken other Reſolutions; yet others, and particularly Alder-

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man *Fowke*, expreſſed their Approbation of what I had ſaid, and declared their Reſolution to act accordingly, provided they might be aſſured not to be governed by an Army, in which I aſſured them my Judgment concurred with them, which my Actions ſhould always demonſtrate. And as I did upon all Publick Occaſions endeavour to perſwade our divided Parties to unite for their Common Safety, ſo I am not ſenſible that I neglected any private Opportunity to bring about that End. Therefore when I waited on Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, which frequently happened, I never failed to exhort him during this unhappy Breach, that he would uſe his Endeavours for the Reſtitution of the Parliament. About which being one day ſomewhat earneſt with him, and having acquainted him that finding my good Offices between the Parliament-men and the Army were likely to prove ineffectual, I was reſolved to go to my Station in *Ireland*. His Lady over-hearing theſe laſt Words from her Chamber, and being inform'd that I was alone with the Lieutenant General ſhe came into the Room where we were, and with Tears began to lament the preſent Condition of her Husband, who, ſhe ſaid, had been always unwilling to do any thing in oppoſition to the Parliament, aſſuring me that he was utterly ignorant of the Contrivance of the Officers at *Darby* to petition the Parliament in ſo inſolent a manner, and had not had any part in their Proceedings upon it afterwards; That, as

to her self, she had always solicited him to comply in all things with the Orders of the Parliament; and that fearing the Consequences of the Petition from *Darby*, she had taken the Original, and locked it up in her Cabinet, where it still was. She desired me to defer my Journy to *Ireland* till Differences should be composed between the Parliament and the Army, saying that she knew I had an Interest in both, which she hoped I would improve for the good of both, and not forget to do what good Offices I could for her Husband, who she said had always expressed a great Friendship for me. I confess I was moved with the Discourse of the Lady, and could have been contented to put off my Journey for *Ireland* some time longer, if I had not clearly seen it impossible to adjust the Differences between our contending Parties. For the Army instead of hearkning to an Accommodation, had not only resolved to call a new Parliament, but also published a Proclamation to appoint the Day and Place of their meeting. Besides, I was under no small Apprehensions that Disorders might arise amongst the Officers in *Ireland*, which was my peculiar Province, and therefore I resolved to hasten my Departure, and acquainted the Lieutenant General that my Resolution was fixed, at which both he and his Lady seemed much troubled. The next Morning I went with Sir *Henry Vane* and Major *Saloway* to the Chamber of the Horse-Guard at *Whitehal*, where the principal Officers

cers uſed to meet, in order to take leave of them, and to let them know how much we were diſſatisfied with the Meaſures they had taken: But when we came there, we found them under great Confuſion, by reaſon of the certain Information they had received, That the Fleet had unanimouſly declared for the Reſtitution of the Parliament. This News had wrought ſuch an Alteration in them, that they expreſſed to us their Readineſs to comply with the Deſires of the Fleet, ſo it might be done upon convenient Terms, and earneſtly importuned Sir *Henry Vane* and Major *Saloway* to go down to the Fleet with ſome of their Party to treat with the Commanders at Sea about that Affair. Sir *Henry Vane*, who was always ready to promote the Service of the Publick, accepted the Imployment without any Heſitation, tho the Weather was then extreme ſharp, it being in the midſt of Winter, and he diſtempered with a great Cold: To him were joined Major *Saloway* and Col. *Salmon* with Powers from the Officers of the Army to treat with thoſe of the Fleet; where after they had ſpent four or five Days in that Negotiation, they returned to make their Report to thoſe who had deſired them to undertake that trouble, which to the beſt of my remembrance was to this effect: That at their firſt coming on board, Mr. *Scot* declined to ſpeak with them, and Col. *Okey* uſed them more roughly; but that by the Perſwaſions of Vice Admiral *Lawſon* they did at laſt conſent

ſent to a Conference, where they appeared very averſe to any Propoſal of Terms to be made with the Parliament before their Readmiſſion, inſiſting upon the abſolute Submiſſion of the Army to the Authority of the Parliament.

Another Difficulty aroſe touching the Commiſſioners to be appointed by the Fleet to treat with an equal Number of the Army, about the Reſtitution of the Parliament; and the Vice Admiral having propoſed Sir *Henry Vane*, Major *Saloway*, Mr. *Scot*, and himſelf, for that purpoſe, Mr. *Scot* excepted againſt Sir *Henry Vane* and Major *Saloway*, as Perſons that had too far eſpouſed the Intereſt of the Army. But the Prudence and Moderation of Vice Admiral *Lawſon* removed theſe Obſtructions, and prevailed with Mr. *Scot* to comply. The Officers of the Army gave Thanks to Sir *Henry Vane* and the reſt of the Commiſſioners for their Labour and good Service, which made me conceive ſome hopes of a ſpeedy Accommodation, ſince there now ſeemed little more remaining to be done by the Army but to nominate their four Commiſſioners, for which they took time till the Afternoon. But ſo ripe were theſe Men for Deſtruction, and ſo abandoned of every reaſonable Thought, that they knew not how to make uſe of this Opportunity; and inſtead of naming Perſons to treat about the Reſtitution of the Parliament, they uſed all the Arts imaginable to prevail with the Council of Officers to vote a new Parliament to be called, wherein they

they ſucceeded ſo much, that one of the Principal of them told me in the Afternoon, that he had altered his Opinion, and was fully convinced that the Reſtitution of the Parliament was the very worſt Remedy that could be applied to the Diſtempers of the Nation. After they had taken this Reſolution, I reſolved upon my Journey for *Ireland* with all Expedition; and having made the neceſſary Preparations for my Departure, I went into the Chamber where the Council of Officers accuſtomed to meet, and there freely told them, That the Meaſures they had reſolved to take, if purſued, would certainly bring Ruin on themſelves, and poſſibly on the People of *England*. Hereupon Col. *Desborow* took me aſide, and propoſed for an Expedient, to make choice of ſixty Perſons of the beſt and ableſt of the old Parliament to be the Select Senate that ſhould have a Negative upon the Repreſentative. To which I anſwered, That I hoped the Members of the Parliament aimed only at the Promotion of the Publick Good, and not at the Advancement of themſelves to Places of Power; but if that could be ſuppoſed to be the Diſeaſe of any of them, yet the late Experience they had of the Uſeleſneſs and Vanity of the other Houſe, who made themſelves only the Objects of Scorn and Pity, would be ſufficient to caution them againſt treading in their ſteps, and entring into a Conteſt and Competition with thoſe that repreſented the whole Nation, without any other Support

port but that of the Army, of whose Unfaithfulness they had already made such evident Discoveries. The same day in the Evening Lieutenant Col. *Walker*, whom I had desired to go to *Wallingford*-house, and to bring me an Account of their last Result before my Departure, came to me with News that they had again changed their Measures, and finally resolved upon the Restitution of the Parliament, pretending for the Reason of this great Alteration, that Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* had been extremely disturbed in his Mind the Night before, in contemplation of the Mischiefs that were likely to ensue if they should proceed upon their former Resolution. But most Men believed that the true Reasons of this sudden Change were taken from the Submission of their Forces that had been sent to besiege *Portsmouth*, to the Generals of the Parliament, who had possessed themselves of that Place; whereof they having received an Account, began to despair of subsisting any longer in opposition to the Parliament. The manner of their deserting the Service of the Army was thus: They generally thought the Differences between the Parties not sufficiently important to warrant any Actions of open Hostility, especially the Horse, who in the Absence of the Colonel were commanded by Major *Bremen*, Major to Col. *Rich* his Regiment. He having sounded the Inclinations of the Souldiers, and informed divers of them of their Duty, gave Advice of

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his Proceedings to the Colonel, who perceiving the Officers of the Fleet, and many of thoſe of the Army, to deſire the Return of the Parliament, went down privately from *London* to his Regiment. Being arrived before *Portſmouth*, and finding both Horſe and Foot prepared for his Deſign, he gave notice of his Intentions to Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* and the reſt of the Commanders in the Place, who having cauſed the Gate to be opened, Col. *Rich* with the Forces that had hitherto lain before the Town as Enemies, marched in and joined themſelves to the Parliament's Generals. The next Morning after the News of this Event was brought to *London*, the Army-Party ſummoned a Council of Officers, conſiſting not only of the Standing Forces, but alſo of the City-Militia, and propoſed to them an Inſtrument to ſign, whereby they ſhould engage to ſtand by each other, notwithſtanding the Return of the Parliament. The Officers ſeemed unwilling to ſubſcribe the Paper, and therefore it was not peremptorily required; but being permitted to give their Approbation by Votes, they paſſed it without many Negatives. Whilſt this Matter was under debate, Letters were brought to Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, which after he had read, he called me aſide, and acquainting me with the Contents of them, he delivered them to me, and deſired I would keep them private. The Subſtance of them was, that a Party of the Army in *Ireland* had poſſeſſed themſelves of the

the Caſtle of *Dublin*, ſeized on Col. *Jones* who commanded in my Abſence, taken the Commiſſioners into Cuſtody, and publiſhed a Declaration for the Parliament, of which a Copy was incloſed in the Letters. Therein they declared the Reaſons of their Proceedings to be grounded on their Deſires to relieve the Nation from the Government of the Sword, which they ſaw was endeavoured to be eſtabliſhed not only in *England*, but alſo in *Ireland*, even by thoſe who had lately ſigned an Addreſs to the Parliament, and ſent it over by their Commander in Chief, as they were yet pleaſed to call me. They acknowledged the Guilt of thoſe who had offered Violence to the Civil Authority, and their own Unworthineſs ſo far as they might have contributed to keep them from the Exerciſe of their juſt Power, promiſing to yield Obedience to their Commands for the future, and declaring their Reſolution to join with the Generals at *Portſmouth*, Col. *Monk*, and Vice Admiral *Lawſon*, in order to procure the Reſtitution of the Parliament. Having read this Declaration, and finding it to agree with my Senſe of the Publick Affairs, and ſigned by my Brother-in-law Col. *Kempſon*, with many others of known Integrity, I could not refuſe to give it my Approbation: But when I had conſidered that it was alſo ſubſcribed by Col. *Theophilus Jones*, who upon all Occaſions had ſhewed himſelf a principal Inſtrument of Miſchief amongſt us, and by Col. *Bridges*

Bridges and others, who had been very active to support the Usurpation of the *Cromwels*, I became doubtful what Judgment to make of it. However, having seen things brought to an issue in *England*, I concluded it to be my Duty to hasten to my Charge in *Ireland*, that if their Intentions were just and honest, I might encourage and assist them; and if I should find them otherwise inclined, that I might endeavour to reduce them to their Duty. Therefore having taken leave of my Friends and Relations, I departed from *London*, and being on my way to *Chester* in order to imbark for *Ireland*, I received Letters by a Messenger sent on purpose from my Brother *Kempson*, by which I understood that the Surprizal of *Dublin* had been principally contrived and carried on by Col. *Bridges*, Lieutenant Colonel *Warren*, Major *Warden*, Major *Warren*, Capt. *Joyner*, and Col. *Theophilus Jones*: That the Pretence of their meeting together at *Dublin* was to petition for a General Council of Officers, that the Sense of the Army there touching the Publick Affairs might be fairly collected and represented. Those who had the immediate Management of things in *Ireland* having refused to grant their Request, the Officers above-mentioned resolved to put their Design in execution; and having gained the greatest part of a Foot Company that was quartered in the Armory near the Iron Gate of the Castle, they ordered three of the private Souldiers who were best known to the Sentinel

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that was upon the Guard, to desire him to open the Gate, and to let them in to do some Business which they pretended to have in the Castle. But so soon as the Sentinel had opened the Gate, the three Souldiers secured him, and immediately after the rest of their Confederates, with Major *Warden* at the Head of them, rushed in and surprized the Guard. Being thus possessed of the Castle, they seized upon Col. *John Jones*, and sent Major *Warren* to take into his Custody Mr. *Corbet* and Col. *Thomlinson*, the other two Commissioners, which he did as they were coming from the Church. My Brother *Kempson* was at this time in my Lodgings in the Castle, and heard nothing of this Action till some of the principal Persons concerned came to him and acquainted him with what had passed, desiring him to join with them, which he thought fit to promise. Then they sent to Sir *Hardress Waller*, giving him an account of their Success, and desired his Assistance, tho he had not been made acquainted with their Design. My Brother also informed me, that tho he had contributed towards drawing up the Declaration of this Party to the best Advantage he could for the Publick Interest, yet he was so unsatisfied with the Spirit and Principles of these Men, that he was very hardly perswaded to sign it. The Horse that were in the Town had for the most part joined with this Party; but a Company of Foot of Col. *Lawrence* his Regiment being got together upon this Alarm,

and

and ſolicited to declare with them for the Parliament, made anſwer, That they knew not what Parliament they meant; but that they were reſolved to be faithful to the Parliament, and to Me their Commander in Chief. In theſe Words moſt of the Forces in *Ireland* afterwards declared; and Sir *Hardreſs Waller* deſired my Brother *Kempſon* to let me know, that he had carried his Life in his hand, and hazarded all in this Affair for my ſake. And that there might be no want of Proteſtations, Major *Warden* himſelf told my Brother, that tho I thought him a Cavalier, yet I ſhould find him as faithful to the Commonwealth as any Man. Yet for all this my Brother acquainted me, that he much doubted the Sincerity of their Intentions, and the rather, becauſe Sir *Charles Coote* had ſeized *Galway*, and turned out Col. *Sadler* the Governour of that Place; that he had impriſoned Major *Ormisby*, an Officer of Courage and Honeſty, and had drawn together a conſiderable Body both of Horſe and Foot, conſiſting chiefly of the Engliſh Iriſh. Therefore he concluded that I would loſe no time, but haſten to them with all poſſible Expedition. Having received this Account of the Affairs of *Ireland*, and being perſwaded that Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* was like to have a great Influence upon the Publick Counſels, I ſent him a Copy of my Letter, and earneſtly deſired him to take care not to be ſeduced by fair Promiſes and ſpecious Pretences, to ſtrengthen the

Hands of thoſe in whom he never had found, nor was like to find any juſt Grounds of Confidence. Before my Departure from *Cheſter* I made a Viſit, and took leave of Col. *Croxton* Governour of that Place, who, as he had always done, gave me all poſſible Demonſtration of his Affection to the Commonwealth. From thence I went to *Beaumaris*, where I found a Ship of War carrying about thirty Guns, commanded by Capt. *Aldworth*. And tho I had no Order from any ſuperiour Powers, yet the Captain promiſed, if he could get out of the Harbour, to ſet ſail for *Ireland* the next Morning. Which having done according to his Promiſe, we caſt Anchor the day after in the Bay of *Bullock* over againſt my Houſe at *Monck-town*. But not thinking it prudent to go aſhore till I had farther informed my ſelf of the State of Affairs, I writ a Letter to Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, and the reſt of the Officers, to acquaint them, that the Parliament being again reſtored to their Authority, according to their Deſires expreſſed in their Addreſs and late Declaration, wherein I concurred in Judgment with them, I was come over to join with them, and to afford them my Aſſiſtance to accompliſh thoſe things for which they had declared. This Letter I ſent to them by our Deputy-Advocate; and when the Boat went off, Capt. *Aldworth* cauſed his Guns to be fired, which gave notice to thoſe at *Dublin* of my Arrival. At the Return of the Boat my Brother *Kempſon*, accompanied by

divers Officers, came on board and informed me, that the Affairs of *Ireland* were in a much worſe Condition than at the time he had written to me in *England*, by reaſon of the Prevalency of Sir *Charles Coote*, who with one or two more influenced the whole Council of Officers as they pleaſed; and that all thoſe who had been diſplaced for Debauchery or Diſaffection, had joined with him: By which means divers Officers of known Affection to the Publick had been obliged to quit their Poſts, and yield their Gariſons to his Creatures: That Col. *Brayfield* Governour of *Athlone* having refuſed to ſurrender that Place to Sir *Charles Coote*, he had drawn his Forces before it, and by tampering with ſome of the Gariſon, and falſely affirming that the Governour would deliver them up to him, he had prevailed with them to ſet open the Gates of the Caſtle, and to betray their Governour into his hands: That upon this Encouragement he had marched to *Dublin* with a conſiderable Body of Horſe, amongſt whom he had diſtributed a great Sum of Money to ſecure them to his Intereſt: That the like Succeſs had attended divers others of his Aſſociates in ſeveral Parts of that Country, particularly that Col. *Edmund Temple* had poſſeſſed himſelf of *Carlo*, whereof Col. *Pretty* was Governour: That Capt. *Liſle* had diſpoſſeſſed Lieutenant Colonel *Desborow* of *Drogheda*; and that Major *Wilſon* had ſiezed *Limerick*, whereof Col. *Nelſon* had been made Governour by me: That

Major *Stanley*, whom I had permitted upon his Requeſt to ſtay in the Citadel of *Clonmel* till his Wife, who was ready to lie down, ſhould be brought to bed, had made uſe of the Opportunity to poſſeſs himſelf of that Place: That Col. *Cooper*, whom I had entruſted to command ſome Forces in the Notth, had fallen ſick upon the late Change, and was ſince dead; and that his Lieutenant Colonel had been ſeized by a Party of his own Souldiers, and brought Priſoner to *Dublin*, where a Sum of Money was given to them for that Service: And that Lieutenant Colonel *Fowke*, with the Aſſiſtance of the Cavalier Party, had ſeized upon *Toughal*. My Brother alſo informed me, that Sir *Charles Coote* and thoſe who had ſeized the Power into their hands, had prevailed with the Council of Officers to paſs a Vote not to receive me as Commander in Chief till the Pleaſure of the Parliament ſhould be ſignified to them, pretending me to be an Enemy to the Parliament, and in the Intereſt of the Army. In the mean time Col. *Phair* Governour of *Cork*, Col. *Saunders* Governour of *Kinſale*, Col. *Richards* Governour of *Wexford*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Arnop* Governour of *Inniskillin*, had declared for the Parliament, but refuſed to obey the Orders of thoſe at *Dublin*. In this Confuſion were the Affairs of *Ireland*, two Parties contending, and accounting each other Enemies, and yet both declaring for the Parliament. Having received this Information, and being fully convinced

vinced of the ill Intentions of this Party, however they ſought to diſguiſe their Actions under the ſpecious Pretext of Affection to the Parliament, ſince I could not do what I deſired for the Publick Service, yet I reſolved to endeavour to act as I ought in the diſcharge of that Truſt which the Parliament had repoſed in me. And to that end I writ Letters, and directed them to the Commanders of Gariſons, and to the Officers of Regiments, of whoſe Fidelity I had the beſt Aſſurance, acquainting them with the Return of the Parliament to the Exerciſe of their Authority, aſſuring them of my conſtant Affections to the Parliament, and my Reſolution to adhere to them, requiring the Commanders and Officers of the reſpective Gariſons and Regiments, as they valued the Cauſe of God and their Country, to continue faithful to the Parliament, and to withdraw from thoſe, who under pretence of declaring for the Parliament, had uſurped the Power, which they deſigned to uſe for their Deſtruction, and for the Re-eſtabliſhment of Arbitrary Power amongſt us. Therein I alſo ordered them to draw into conſiderable Bodies, if poſſible, and to defend themſelves againſt thoſe who ſhould adventure to attack them; and if they ſhould be overpower'd, to draw towards *Munſter*, where I would endeavour, with what Force I could get together, to give them my Aſſiſtance, promiſing to juſtify them in their Refuſal to obey any of thoſe who derived not their Authority

from the Parliament or Me. Theſe Letters I put into the hands of one *Mildmay*, who had accompanied my Brother *Kempſon* to me, with Orders to deliver them as they were directed, which he promiſed faithfully to perform. The next Morning one of my Servants, whom I had ſent to buy ſome Proviſions for us, returned on board, and informed me, that as ſoon as thoſe at *Dublin* had received notice of my Arrival, they ſent a Party of Horſe to my Houſe, with Orders to ſeize me; who not finding me there, had marched towards the Sea-ſide, where they lay privately, in hopes to ſurprize me at my Landing. Notwithſtanding which our Boat, being well manned and armed, came back ſafe to the Ship with ſome Proviſions. The next day we ſaw a Veſſel coming from *England*, which proving to be the Packet-Boat, I opened the Mail, and found therein more plainly what I ſuſpected before, eſpecially in one of the Letters to Col. *Theophilus Jones*, wherein ſome mention being made of the Affairs of *Charles Stuart*, it was thus corrected, *But no more of that till the next Summer.* This Letter with ſome others I kept, and permitted the Maſter of the Packet-Boat to carry the reſt to the Town. About Noon Capt. *Lucas* came to me on board with an Anſwer to the Letter I had ſent the day before to the Officers at *Dublin*, wherein they expreſſed great Joy for the Reſtitution of the Parliament, and acquainted me with the Reſolution of their Council of

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Officers concerning me, on ſuſpicion that I had taken part with the Army againſt the Parliament. They alſo informed me, that they had diſpatched a Meſſage to the Parliament's Generals, for Orders from them, or the Parliament, for their future Conduct, deſiring in the mean time that I would, for avoiding Inconveniencies, retire into *England*, proteſting themſelves ready to obey me as their Commander in Chief ſo ſoon as the Pleaſure of the Parliament, or their General's, ſhould be ſignified to that purpoſe. This Meſſenger gave me alſo the Copy of a Letter from Col. *Monk* to Col. *John Jones*, which, he ſaid, had been found amongſt the Colonel's Papers at the time when he was ſeized, by which *Monk* endeavoured to perſwade him of his Affection to the Cauſe of the Commonwealth, with a ſolemn Profeſſion of his Reſolution to be true and faithful to the Parliament, and to oppoſe to the death the ſetting up a King, ſingle Perſon, or Houſe of Lords. Capt. *Lucas* being ready to return to *Dublin*, I gave him my Reply to the Anſwer he brought me from the Officers, appealing to their own Conſciences for my Adherence and Affection to the Parliament, telling them, that the Duty of my Charge would not permit me to return to *England* in ſuch a Conjuncture: That I had received my Commiſſion from the Parliament, and did not find that it enjoined me to obey the Commands of thoſe who for the moſt part had no Commiſſions from them:

That I was resolved to prosecute, as far as I was able, the Ends of my Commission for the Service of the Parliament, by whom I was entrusted; requiring them to forbear any Opposition against me, as they would answer for the Blood that might be shed in the Dispute. I acquainted Capt. *Lucas* with the Substance of my Letter; who thereupon proposed, that seeing I was confident of my good Intentions, and that both my self and those at *Dublin* aimed at the same thing, I would go to them, and by satisfying their Scruples, adjust the Differences between us. But I told him, that I was too well informed of their Principles and Designs to put my self into their hands. Then, said he, you do not think us to be for the Parliament? No indeed, said I; and it is most manifest to me, that the Design of those who now govern the Council of Officers, tho at present it be covered with Pretences for the Parliament, is to destroy both them and their Friends, and to bring in the Son of the late King.

Perceiving the Passage to *Dublin* to be barr'd against me, and being disappointed of some farther Provisions that I had sent for; the Enemy, for such they had declared themselves to me, not permitting them to be brought on board, I resolved to try if I could find Reception from any other Garison on the Coast, hoping that the Parliament would in a short time take off the pretended Objection against me, that I was an Enemy to them. Or if they should so far aban-

abandon the Care of their own Safety, to leave the Power in the hands of these Usurpers, I should yet have the Satisfaction of having done all that I could to discharge the Trust they had placed in me. But before I departed from the Bay of *Dublin*, I dispatched a Relation of my Wife to *England* by the Packet-Boat, with Letters for the Parliament, wherein I gave them the best Account I could of the State of Affairs in *Ireland*, and desired their Instructions how to govern my self in so nice a Conjuncture; assuring them, that as I had never been solicitous to procure the Employment wherein their Favour had placed me, so I could be well contented to withdraw from that publick Station if they should think fit to recal me from it. To these Letters I added others for Sir *Arthur Haslerig* and Mr. *Scot*, with Copies of some of the Letters which I had intercepted coming from *England* for those at *Dublin*. Having dispatched the Packet-Boat, we set sail for *Duncannon*, where I had placed one Capt. *Skynner* to command, in whom I had great Confidence, and the next Morning about eight or nine of the Clock we were in view of the Shoar near *Wexford*. Being come within a League of *Duncannon*, and not knowing in whose hands that Place might be in this strange Revolution of Affairs, I sent a Messenger to Capt. *Alland*, whom I had made Governour of the Fort at *Passage*, to be informed by him of their Condition. The next Morning our Mes-

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ſenger returned with the Captain and two or three more, who acquainted me, that tho no means had been left unattempted to procure the Fort of *Duncannon* to be delivered to thoſe at *Dublin*, that Capt. *Skynner* had conſtantly refuſed to obey any Orders not proceeding from the Parliament or Me. He alſo informed me, that Col. *Richards* Governour of *Wexford*, Col. *Phair* Governour of *Cork*, and Col. *Saunders* Governour of *Kinſale*, had acted in the like manner, and that he had hopes that thoſe of *Waterford* would alſo declare for me, having promiſed ſo to do when I ſhould arrive. But that the Perſon I had intruſted with the Command of *Kilkenny* had been frighted out of his Government; and that Lieutenant Col. *Hurd*, who had been removed for his vicious Life and Diſaffection to the Publick, was got into the Place. Being informed of theſe Particulars, I landed the ſame day in the Evening at *Duncannon*, where I was received with great Demonſtrations of Joy by Capt. *Skynner* the Governour, and the Gariſon, who at my Arrival fired their Guns round the Fort, and were anſwered by thoſe from our Ship of War that lay in the Harbour, by which means thoſe of *Waterford* had notice of my Landing. Doubting what the iſſue of things might be, I took a view of the Place; and having perceived that the Gariſon was not ſufficiently provided either with Men or Proviſions, I took the beſt Care I could for their Supply. To this end one of the

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Officers having engaged to bring in the greateſt part of a Foot Company in the Regiment of Col. *Stephens*, I ſent him out with Orders to that purpoſe. I diſpatched a Meſſenger alſo to my Tenants at *Bally-Magger*, which lay not far from us, to deſire them to furniſh me with Corn, Beef, and other Neceſſaries. I revictualled our Man of War, whoſe Proviſions were almoſt ſpent, and borrowed divers Sums of Money of my Friends in the Parts adjacent, which I knew to be of ſingular Uſe in caſe of Extremity. Having done this, I ſent Letters to Col. *Leigh* Governour of *Waterford*, and to the reſt of the Officers there, acquainting them with the Reſtitution of the Parliament, and with my Arrival at *Duncannon*, in order to promote their Service, wherein I required them to afford me their Aſſiſtance. I wrote Letters alſo to Col. *Puckle* Governour of *Roſs*, to the ſame effect, and diſpatched others to Col. *Richards*, Col. *Phair*, and Col. *Saunders*, to encourage them to continue to act as they had hitherto done. From *Waterford* I had a civil Return to my Meſſage brought by ſome of their Officers, who came to make me a Viſit; but I could not get a poſitive Anſwer from them to the Contents of my Letter. And I ſtill inſiſting that they would declare themſelves, they ſent one Capt. *Bolton* and three other Perſons to me, deſiring that I would ſatisfy them touching the Objection that had been given out againſt me, that I was an Enemy to

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the Parliament; which having done, as I might well, they departed in appearance well ſatisfied. In the mean time Col. *Temple* with ſome Horſe was ordered to block up the Fort of *Duncannon*; and having poſſeſſed himſelf of the Ways leading to it, one of his Parties ſtopped ſome Country People that were bringing ſome Black Cattle for the uſe of the Gariſon; which having perceived, I ordered a Party of Foot, being altogether deſtitute of Horſe, to go by a ſhort Way, and to poſt themſelves in a Paſs through which they were to return: and tho they came too late to recover the Cattle, yet they prevailed with divers of the Party to come to me into the Fort, where they aſſured me that they had been brought before us merely in obedience to their ſuperior Officers, and were much troubled at the Differences amongſt us; they acknowledged that they had long ſerved under me, and were more willing to continue to do ſo ſtill, than to ſerve under any other Perſon; and that underſtanding that both the contending Parties waited for the Signification of the Parliament's Pleaſure concerning the Publick Affairs, they promiſed to withdraw from the Fort, and to come no more againſt us. By which it may farther appear how unwilling the Forces on both ſides were to come to any open Acts of Hoſtility, it being not eaſy for Men in an ordinary Station, unacquainted with Publick Counſels, and of ordinary Capacities, ſo ſoon to diſcern the way to their Duty through

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the ſpecious Pretences of each Party. But the Cabal at *Dublin* reſolving to carry on their wicked Deſign by Force, if they could not do it by Fraud, diſplaced by their own uſurped Authority all the Field Officers of the Army, except Major *Ed. Warren*, with moſt of the other Officers that the Parliament had commiſſionated, filling their Places with the moſt vicious and diſaffected Perſons they could find. Which having done, they cauſed a Report to be publiſhed, that Sir *Charles Coote* with a conſiderable Force would come to beſiege me in *Duncannon*, whereby they obtained this Advantage, that our Enemies in *Waterford* were incouraged to appear openly, and our Friends, uncertain of the Event, would not venture to declare themſelves. Beſides, Col. *Leigh* their Governour began now openly to ſide with thoſe at *Dublin*, either from his Malice to me for reproving him formerly for his Zeal in ſupporting the Uſurpation of *Cromwel*, or from a ſelfiſh Principle that was natural to him of joining always with the riſing Party; tho being an Anabaptiſt, he might have conſidered, that he was not likely to find much Favour with the Grandees at *Dublin*.

The Enemy, as had been before reported, drew down before *Duncannon*; and Capt. *Scot*, Son to Mr. *Scot* a Member of the Parliament, whom I have had occaſion frequently to mention, ſent a Letter to inform me, that being appointed by the Officers at *Dublin* to reduce the

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Place to the Obedience of the Parliament, he was come thither to that purpoſe. Having read his Letter, I wrote an Anſwer to it, and communicated them both to the Officers and Souldiers of the Gariſon. In my Anſwer I told him that we were really for that, which they only pretended as a Colour to worſe Deſigns; that I acted by the Authority of the Parliament, and ſhould endeavour faithfully to diſcharge my Duty; requiring them forthwith to depart, and return to the Obedience of thoſe to whom they owed it, as they would anſwer the contrary to God and Man. I deſired the Captain to communicate my Anſwer to thoſe that were with him, as I aſſured him I had done his Letter to the Officers and Souldiers of my Gariſon. Whilſt theſe things were doing, Sir *Charles Coote*, Col. *Theophilus Jones*, and the reſt of the Cabal at *Dublin*, ſent one Capt. *Campbel* to Col. *Monk* to acquaint him with the Progreſs they had made; upon which he cauſed the Cannon at *Berwick* to be fired in teſtimony of his Joy, and ſent back the Meſſenger to them with Letters of Thanks for their good Service, deſiring them not to reſtore the Commiſſioners of the Parliament, whom they had ſeized, to the exerciſe of their Authority: But as I afterwards underſtood by ſome of *Coote*'s Party, he mentioned nothing concerning me in his Letters, not knowing, as I preſume, but that I might be in a condition to retard, if not totally obſtruct his Grand Deſign, as probably I had done, with the

the Bleſſing of God, if the Parliament had not abandoned me, and their own Intereſt at the ſame time, by the influence of *Monk*'s Party in the Houſe. The Junto at *Dublin* being very deſirous to remove me from the Poſt where I was, called a Council of Officers; and having drawn up a Letter to juſtify their Proceedings againſt me, they procured it to be ſigned and ſent to me from the Council, endeavouring therein to defame me with all poſſible Malice, charging me with neglecting the Duty of my Imployment in *Ireland*, when upon the late Interruption of the Parliament I had rather choſen to continue my Journy to *London* than to return to the diſcharge of my Office; accuſing me for divers Paſſages in my Letters which they had intercepted; in one of which, having called Col. *John Jones* Dear Friend, they would have it interpreted, that I thereby approved his Correſpondence with the *Wallingford*-Houſe Party: And in another having expreſſed my Deſire to moderate things between the Parliament and the Army, they improved it to a very great Crime, alledging that Men ought to obey, and not to capitulate with the Parliament; adding, that when I ſaw I could do no more in oppoſition to the Parliament, I had refuſed to wait their ſitting, and departed for *Ireland* a Day or two before their Reſtitution, where I had endeavoured to ſerve the Army by my Intereſt in the diſaffected Party; that finding *Dublin* to be ſecured for the Parliament by thoſe who

who obeyed their Orders, and would obey me as their Commander in Chief, if the Parliament thought fit to continue that Power to me, I had not only refuſed to return to *England* till their Pleaſure in that Affair might be known, but alſo had endeavoured by all hoſtile means to get the Power into my hands, at the ſame time neglecting my Duty in Parliament, which they ſaid I might have been doing, had not my Miſcarriages rendred me uncapable of that Honour. Having peruſed this Letter, I thought my ſelf obliged to anſwer it, as well to clear my ſelf from theſe Calumnies, as to prevent the Effect it might otherwiſe have amongſt unwary Men, which was eſpecially to be regarded in this Conjuncture, becauſe they had taken care to print and diſperſe their Libel againſt me. I told them in my Anſwer, that they well knew that in my Letters to Col. *Jones*, which they had intercepted, I had expreſſed my Diſlike of his Correſpondence with the Army; tho having received Civilities from him, and becauſe he had the Sword in his Hand, I thought it not imprudent to keep fair with him, which was probably the reaſon why they themſelves were not more plainly dealt with by the Parliament: That notwithſtanding their Pretences of Obedience to the Parliament, I wiſhed I might not ſee the Day when they ſhould poſitively refuſe to obey their Commands, to the deſtruction of their Authority, and the Advancement of a contrary Intereſt; tho, to ſerve the preſent

ſent turn, they now blamed me for endeavouring, in the midſt of the Confuſion that the Ambition of the Army had brought upon us, to moderate things ſo, that their Authority might have been reſtored, and the Publick Cauſe preſerved from Ruin: That the Reaſons of my not returning to my Command upon advice of the late Interruption were; firſt, becauſe I knew it to be the Intereſt of the Parliament and the Army to unite, both being in a certain way to ruin, if they did not; and that therefore I was incouraged to attempt it: And in the next place, becauſe I had ſeen the Letter which was ſent from the Officers at *London* to thoſe in *Ireland*, wherein they declared that they had only obſtructed their Sitting for a while: Thirdly, I hoped at my Departure I had left the Affairs of *Ireland* in good Hands; and at the worſt, I was perſwaded it muſt of neceſſity follow the Fate of *England*. Laſtly, I doubted not that by fixing the Iriſh Brigade, which was in *England*, to the Intereſt of the Parliament, I ſhould contribute more to their Service, than by the beſt Regulation that could be made of the Forces in *Ireland*: That the Cauſe of my laſt Return to *Ireland* was taken from the knowledg I had of the Perſons that had aſſumed the Power into their Hands, and the Duty that lay upon me to uſe the beſt of my Endeavours to put a ſtop to thoſe malignant Deſigns, which I had reaſon to believe their Principles would lead them to carry on: That

they must pardon me, if I followed not their Advice of returning to *England*, when I was in the Bay of *Dublin*, having it not in my Instructions to obey them; and being as fully satisfied of their Intentions to make use of their Power, under pretence of serving the Parliament, to undermine and destroy their Friends, as I was that my own Endeavours were directed wholly to their Service, and that it was my Duty, as far as I could, to prosecute the Ends of that Commission with which they had intrusted me. Before I had sent away this Letter, I received the astonishing News that the Parliament had sent to the Officers at *Dublin* an Acknowledgment of their Service in declaring for them; and about a Week after the said Officers sent a Letter to be delivered to me, signed by *William Lenthal* Speaker of the Parliament, to desire me by their Order to attend the Parliament with an Account of the Affairs of *Ireland*, that upon consideration thereof, such a Course might be taken, as might secure the Publick Interest there. Letters to the same effect were written, as I was informed, to Col. *John Jones*, Col. *Thomlinson*, and Mr. *Miles Corbet*, Commissioners for the Parliament in *Ireland*. By these Letters I perceived that the Parliament was reduced to a dishonourable Compliance with those who had got the Ascendant over them; and therefore having received their Commands to attend them, I resolved to do it as soon as I could, hoping by the Account I should

ſhould give them, to awaken their Care, and if they were not wholly infatuated, perſwade them to make a timely Proviſion againſt the Dangers that ſo viſibly threatned them with ſudden Deſtruction. The Enemy thought I would have ſurrendred the Fort of *Duncannon* into their Hands, and to that end uſed many Arguments to induce me to it; but I refuſed to hearken to that Propoſition, and acquainted them that the Letters I had received rather implied the contrary; and that if the Parliament were as ſenſible as they ought to be of their Intereſt, I doubted not that *Duncannon* might prove a good Landing-place for an Army from *England* to reduce thoſe in *Ireland* to their Obedience. In the mean time I had cauſed two or three Veſſels to caſt Anchor under the command of the Caſtle, reſolving to make uſe of one of them for my Tranſportation to *England*; and finding a Dutch Bottom commanded by a French-man to be moſt convenient for my purpoſe, I agreed with the Maſter of her for my Voyage. Before I departed, Capt. *Scot*, Major *Barrington*, and ſome others of thoſe that had blocked us up, deſired to ſpeak with me, which I agreed to, and amongſt other Diſcourſe that deſerves not to be mentioned, many of them, and in particular Capt. *Scot*, tho they had declared for the Parliament, endeavoueed to juſtify the Attempt of Sir *George Booth*, reviling Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, and divers others who were Members of the Parliament: and being

asked whether they would fight againſt *Charles Stuart*, if he ſhould appear at the Head of an Army, they refuſed to explain themſelves in that particular: And yet theſe Gentlemen would be thought to be the only Champions for the Parliament. Capt. *Scot* accompanied me to the Water-ſide, where taking leave of Capt. *Skinner* the Governour and the reſt of the Officers and Souldiers of the Gariſon, I commanded the Governour in his Preſence not to ſurrender the Fort to any Perſon that ſhould not be authorized to receive it by the Parliament or me, wherein I doubted not he would have the Aſſiſtance of the whole Gariſon, which they unanimouſly promiſed. As ſoon as I was imbarked, Capt. *Skinner* cauſed all their Cannon to be fired to teſtify their Reſpects to me; and the Wind being very fair, we immediately ſet ſail for *England*. The next Morning we found our ſelves in view of the Iſle of *Lundy*, and I would willingly have landed at *Minhead*, but the Seas went ſo high, that we were obliged to put in at *Milford Comb*; where having provided Horſes for my ſelf and Company, we went to *Barnſtaple*, and lay there that Night. The Day following we paſſed over *Axmore*, which was covered with Snow, and with much difficulty arrived that Night at *Layſtock*, where I was informed that *Monk* was come to *London*, and had brought the ſecluded Members into the Houſe, which Report had preceded the Action; for it was not

not yet done. But we were assured from better Intelligence, that the Parliament, upon consideration of Sir *Henry Vane*'s compliance with the Army during the late Interruption, had discharged him from being a Member, and commanded him to retire from *London*; and that having reproved Major *Saloway* for what he had done of the same nature, they had committed him to the Tower during the Pleasure of the House. We were also informed that they had granted time to Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Col. *Sydenham*, the Lord Commissioner *Whitlock*, Mr. *Cornelius Holland*, and Mr. *Strickland* to clear themselves touching their Deportment in that Affair. I was not a little disturbed at this News, conceiving that the Removal of such eminent Pillars of the House, as some of these were, would put the whole Fabrick into apparent Danger of Ruin; but being always desirous to think well of their Proceedings, I perswaded my self that these Measures were the Result of the extraordinary Zeal of some Men to vindicate the least appearance of any Breach that might be supposed to have been made upon the Privileges of the Parliament. As I was seriously reflecting on these Particulars, one of my Servants brought me the Paper of Publick Intelligence, wherein I not only perceived the former Relation to be confirmed, but also found that the Parliament had received a Charge of High Treason against Me, Mr. *Miles Cor-*

bet, Col. *John Jones*, and Col. *Thomlinſon*, preſented by Col. *Bridges*, Major *Edward Warren*, and Capt. *Abel Warren*, and ſubſcribed by Sir *Charles Coote*; of which, tho I had heard ſome flying Report whilſt I was in *Ireland*, yet I could not ſuppoſe them ſo abandoned of all Shame, as to purſue ſuch a Deſign: But they had learned, that to calumniate abundantly was the way to get ſomething to ſtick. And here I confeſs, if I had entred upon the Publick Service on the account of my own private Advantage, I ſhould have been totally diſcouraged, and perhaps have made the beſt Proviſion I could for my own Safety; but being conſcious to my ſelf that I had acted upon better Principles, I concluded that the Parliament, who knew my Innocence, would not fail to do me Juſtice againſt my malicious Enemies. Thereupon I uſed all poſſible Diligence in my Journey, taking Poſt-Horſes to that end; inſomuch that a Perſon who knew me, meeting me on the Road, ſaid, that thoſe who were under an Accuſation of High Treaſon, were not accuſtomed to make ſuch haſte to preſent themſelves. Being arrived at *London*, I went not that day to the Parliament, being informed that the Houſe was riſing; and becauſe I was deſirous to learn as much as I could concerning the State of Publick Affairs, to which I had been ſo long a Stranger. The moſt remarkable Tranſactions that had paſſed in my Abſence were theſe following: That Lieutenant Gene-

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ral *Fleetwood* finding himſelf deſerted by moſt part of the Army, had ſent the Keys of the Parliament Houſe to the Speaker, with notice that the Guards were withdrawn, and that the Members of Parliament might attend the Diſcharge of their Duty: That Lieutenant Colonel *Miller*, who was in poſſeſſion of the Tower, had ſent alſo to the Speaker, to acquaint him that he and his Gariſon were ready to receive his Orders: That the Forces about the Town had been muſtered in *Lincolns-Inn Fields* by Col. *Alured* and Col. *Okey*, where, after they had declared for the Parliament, they marched by the Speaker's Houſe in *Chancery-Lane*, and ſaluted him as their General as he ſtood at his Door: That the Speaker had ſent Col. *Bret* and Col. *Redmain*, who had been diſcharged for their Zeal to the Uſurpation of *Cromwel*, to command the Iriſh Brigade; tho it was well known, that Brigade was officer'd with ſuch as were ſo zealous for the Parliament, that they had refuſed to engage againſt Col. *Monk*, becauſe he had declared for them, and had marched off intirely from the Army of Col. *Lambert*: That Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* and the reſt of the Officers from *Portſmouth* coming into *London* by the Bridg, had paſſed through the City, where they had been received with ſo much ſeeming Joy and loud Acclamations, that Sir *Arthur* was obſerved in particular to be ſo elevated, that for ſome time after he could ſcarce diſcern his Friends from his

Enemies; whereof my Wife had ſome Experience: For ſhe going to give him ſome account of me and of Affairs in *Ireland*, found him much altered in his Carriage to her, ſaying that God and Man having owned them, they muſt imploy thoſe that would own them. To which ſhe replied, that he ſeemed to miſtake what ſhe had ſaid, and aſſured him that ſhe was well informed, that as I had never ſolicited for Publick Imployment in better times, ſo I was very remote from any ſuch Thoughts in this Condition of things. This Height of Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* laſted but a few Days; for tho the Clergy and Lawyers, with other diſaffected Perſons, had hitherto kept fair with him, and in appearance reverenced him above all others, that by his Aſſiſtance they might be able to prevail againſt the Army, or *Wallingford*-Houſe Party; yet ſo ſoon as they were free from their Fears, and underſtood their own Strength, they refuſed to be any longer controlled by him, turning out of the Houſe and out of the Army whomſoever they pleaſed: Which falſe Meaſures taken by him, he began to perceive when there was no Remedy left. Fifteen hundred old Officers were removed from their Commands in the Army by the Committee appointed for that purpoſe, and as many brought in to ſupply their Places, who were for the moſt part either unknown to the Souldiers, diſaffected to the Cauſe, or ignorant of military Affairs. The Rules by which

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the Committee for placing and diſplacing went by, were, as every Man had been known to favour or oppoſe the Army Party, without any conſideration of the Reaſons that led them to the one or the other; which yet had been convenient, becauſe many had carried it fair to the Army, only that they might be the better enabled to make them ſenſible of their Duty, and more eaſily prevail with them to return to the Obedience of the Parliament: And many had rail'd at and oppoſed the Army with no other deſign than thereby to neceſſitate both the Parliament and the Army by their Diſunion, and the Confuſions that would naturally enſue thereupon, to return to their former Servitude.

In the mean time *Monk* having left four Regiments in *Scotland* to ſecure that Country, and divided his Forces into two Brigades, one of which he commanded himſelf, and Col. *Morgan* the other, began his March for *England* on the firſt Day of *January*, and on the ſecond took his Quarters at *Willar*, where he received Letters from the Parliament. On the fifth he came to *Morpeth*, and found there ſome Perſons ſent to him by the Common Council of *London*, with Orders to deſire him to uſe his Intereſt to call a Free Parliament. The next Day he entred *Newcaſtle*, and thence diſpatched one *Gumble*, whom he had entertained as his Chaplain, with Letters to the Parliament and Council of State, wherein Proteſtations of Duty and Fidelity

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were not wanting. Divers Lawyers of the Parliament, with ſome others, gave a Meeting to *Monk*'s Meſſenger at the Speaker's Houſe; and ſeveral Citizens did the like at the Houſe of one Mr. *Robinſon:* at both which Meetings *Gumble* was aſſured that they and their Parties would be favourable to *Monk*'s Deſign. Having in a few Days diſpatched the Buſineſs he came about, he returned to his Maſter, with an account of the Succeſs of his Negotiation. He found him at *Mansfield* in *Nottinghamſhire*; and having acquainted him with the Diviſions at *London*, and with the Inclinations of the City, *Monk* marched the next day to *Nottingham*, where he ſtaid ten days. In his March he removed many Officers from their Commands, placing in their room Perſons of ruined Fortunes or profligate Lives, making no diſtinction between thoſe that had continued in their Obedience to the Parliament, and thoſe who had declared againſt them. In particular he diſcharged from their Imployments divers Officers of our Iriſh Brigade, who had been the moſt zealous for aſſerting the Civil Authority, and filled their Places with ſuch as had been diſmiſſed for their vicious Lives or corrupt Principles. Wherein his Deportment was ſo viſible, that Col. *Martin* in the Parliament Houſe reſembled him to one, that being ſent for to make a Sute of Clothes, brought with him a Budget full of Carpenters Tools; and being told that ſuch things were not at all fit for the

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Work he was desired to do, answered, it matters not, I will do your Work well enough I warrant you. Yet for all this the Pretences for a Commonwealth went never more high than at this time: For besides an Injunction laid upon all commissionated Officers to engage to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth, the Parliament appointed an Oath, containing the Abjuration of the Family of the *Stuarts*, to be taken by the Members of the Council of State before they might act therein. But none were more forward to publish their Resolutions of adhering to a Commonwealth-Government than *Monk* himself, who in a Letter to some of his own Countrymen of the Western Parts, that had addressed him for the Restitution of the Secluded Members, told them that he could not do it, because it was not only contrary to his own frequent Declarations, but directly opposite to the Interest of a Commonwealth, as well as to that of the Army; a thing not to be done by him, or born by them, being a total Reversing of all that had been done for the last twelve Years in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and tending to charge the Nation with all the Blood that had been shed during that time. He said it would unsettle the Possession of Deans, Chapters, Delinquents, Crown and Rebels Lands; and in fine, if we should suffer Monarchy to return amongst us, after so long a Fruition of a Commonwealth, we should be driven to a worse Condition than ever,

ever, and put paſt all hopes of appearing to defend our Liberty any more. He adviſed them therefore to acquieſce in the Authority of the preſent Parliament, who, he aſſured them, were moſt ready to hearken to all reaſonable Propoſitions touching the good and happy Settlement of the Nation. And that this Anſwer might be taken notice of by all Men, he cauſed it to be printed and publiſhed.

The Parliament being willing to encourage him in the good Reſolutions he profeſſed to have taken, ſent Mr. *Thomas Scot* and Mr. *Luke Robinſon*, Members of the Houſe, to be Commiſſioners from them to him. Mr. *Scot* had kept a long Correſpondence with him, and after the laſt Interruption had publiſhed ſome of his Letters, wherein *Monk* declared his Reſolution to live and die with the Parliament, without a King, ſingle Perſon, or Houſe of Lords. Theſe two Perſons were in appearance much courted by *Monk*, who pretended to be wholly directed by their Advice. And when the Commiſſioners for the City of *London*, or the Gentry of thoſe Parts where he paſſed, applied themſelves to him for the Reſtitution of the ſecluded Members, he referred them to the Judgment of the Parliament, to whom, he ſaid, he was reſolved intirely to ſubmit. He alſo ſolicited Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* and ſome others of the Houſe, that the Sectarian Party might be removed out of the Army, ſending a Liſt of the Names of all thoſe who had been con-

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tinued in their Employments by the Army during the late Interruption; and pretending that a Commonwealth could not possibly be established whilst such Men were in Power. What he did relating to the Affairs of *Ireland* was carried more covertly, and coloured with the Name of Sir *Charles Coote*. And because he knew I had some Reputation with Sir *Arthur Haslerig* and the Commonwealth-Party of the House, he made use of Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, Mr. *Weaver*, Mr. Justice *St. Johns*, Mr. *Robert Reynolds*, and some others, to obtain what he desired in that matter. These Gentlemen were informed that the Council of State, notwithstanding all the Arts that had been used to calumniate me, had agreed upon a Report to be made to the Parliament, that Sir *Hardress Waller*, Lieutenant Colonel *Walker*, and Major *Godfrey*, might be intrusted in conjunction with me, with the Management of Affairs in *Ireland*. They knew also that the two last would be ready to do any honest thing that I should advise; and therefore fearing lest the Parliament might agree with the Council of State upon the Report, they procured the Debate to be adjourned for three days, within which time they so ordered the matter, that Col. *Bridges* and the two *Warrens* presented to the Parliament the Charge of High Treason against the Commissioners and me, as I mentioned before. Whereof *Monk*'s Party in the House made such Advantage, as not only to refuse

refuſe their Concurrence with the Council of State in their Report concerning me, but alſo by the help of the Lawyers Rhetorick, who were my profeſſed Adverſaries on account of my Endeavours to reform the Practice of the Law, paſſed a Vote to require me to deliver the Fort of *Duncannon* into the hands of the Proſecutors; ſome of them moving that in caſe of Refuſal I ſhould be declared a Traitor, and ſent for in Cuſtody. Which perhaps might have paſſed alſo, if Mr. *Henry Nevil*, who ſingly had the Courage to defend me in that Conjuncture, had not ſpoken in my behalf, deſiring them not to entertain a Jealouſy of a faithful Servant upon Informations unproved, nor to do any thing to the Prejudice of my Reputation, till I ſhould be heard; when, he doubted not, I would make appear, that I had always endeavoured to promote their Service. But I was not the only Perſon born down by this Torrent. Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* himſelf having parted with Sir *Henry Vane* and Major *Saloway*, his moſt able and beſt Friends, began to loſe ground, and all that he ſaid in the Houſe or elſewhere to go for nothing. And tho they could find out no colour to remove him as they had done the other two; yet having already rendred him inſignificant in the Parliament, they reſolved he ſhould have as little Power in the Army. To that end it was contrived that *Monk* ſhould write to the Parliament, that for their greater Security, the Forces that were in

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and about *London*, amounting to about seven or eight thousand Horse and Foot, might be removed to a farther distance to make room for those that he had with him, presuming to name to the Parliament some particular Regiments which he principally insisted to have removed, amongst which Sir *Arthur Haslerig*'s Regiment of Horse was one. And so tame was the Parliament grown, that tho it was most visible he designed their Ruin, yet on his bare Word and empty Protestations they not only trusted him, but obeyed him as their Superiour, and ordered all that he desired to be put in execution. Notwithstanding this unhappy posture of Affairs, thinking it my Duty to clear my self of the Aspersions cast upon me, and to improve the small Interest I had left for the Service of the Publick Cause, I resolved to take my place in Parliament: And in order thereunto, being accompanied by Mr. *Henry Nevil*, I attended Sir *Arthur Haslerig* at *Whitehall*, where I gave him a short Account of my Actions since I had last seen him, of my Endeavours in *Ireland* to serve the Publick, of the State of Affairs there, of the Principles and Practices of those that had assumed the Power in that Country, and of the Readiness of the Souldiers and most of the Officers in that Army to have served the Parliament faithfully and usefully, if they had been true to themselves and their own Interest. I also acquainted him with the Sense I had of the late severe, if I might not say unjust, Proceedings against

againſt me, which ſeemed to me to be ſuch a Requital of my faithful Services, that if I expected my Reward from Men, I ſhould rather chuſe to ſerve the Great Turk. But that I might not be wanting to my ſelf, and in order to juſtify my own Innocence, if I could do no farther Good, I had reſolved to go to the Parliament-Houſe the next Morning, deſiring his Advice and that of Mr. *Nevil* for my Government when I ſhould come thither. Sir *Arthur* was unwilling to enter into any Diſcourſe concerning what had lately paſſed, ſaying, it was too late to recal things now: And then told us how his Enemies thought to enſnare him, by *Monk*'s Motion to the Parliament for removing his Regiment from *London*, thinking thereby to create a Difference between him and *Monk*, wherein he had diſappointed them by deſiring their Removal himſelf, contrary to their Expectation, entring into a prolix Commendation of *Monk*, and aſſuring us that he was a Perſon on whoſe Fidelity they might ſafely rely. And if I may be permitted to deliver my Senſe touching this Diſcourſe of Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, I conjecture it proceeded partly from an Apprehenſion that things were already gone ſo far, that he doubted whether he could put any ſtop to them; and partly from ſome Sparks of Hope that *Monk* could not be ſuch a Devil to betray a Truſt ſo freely repoſed in him. For he kept a conſtant Correſpondence with Sir *Arthur*, and in all his Letters repeated the Engagements of his

his Fidelity to the Parliament, with Expreſſions of the greateſt Zeal for a Commonwealth-Government. In the Concluſion it was agreed between us, that when I came into the Houſe I ſhould ſit as privately as I could, and obſerve the Temper of the Members, before I ſhould put them upon the Conſideration of my Affair. Accordingly I went to the Houſe, and tho they had uſed me in the manner I have related, yet they treated me very civilly, ſome of them telling me in a jeſting way, that it was not uſual for Men accuſed of High Treaſon to be ſo well received in that Place. Having taken out a Copy of the Charge exhibited againſt the Commiſſioners and Me, I found the Commiſſioners to be charged with altering their Title during the late Interruption, from *Commiſſioners of Parliament* to *Commiſſioners of the Commonwealth*; and that they had ſent a Ship of War to prevent any Relief to, or Correſpondence with the Gariſon of *Ayre* in *Scotland*, who had declared for the Parliament. Beſides which, Col. *John Jones* was accuſed for taking part with the Army againſt the Parliament, not only in the Particulars aforeſaid, but alſo in his Anſwer to the Letter written by *Monk* to me, on ſuppoſition that I was then in *Ireland*, to invite me to a Conjunction with him for the Reſtitution of the Parliament: And likewiſe for promoting a Subſcription to the Government of the Army amongſt the Officers in *Ireland*. As for me, I was charged with aſſiſting the Army

in *England*, and doing Acts of Hoſtility by Sea and Land againſt thoſe in *Ireland* who had declared for the Parliament. Whereupon I moved the Houſe that they would be pleaſed, according to their Order, to hear me touching their Affairs in *Ireland*, and to permit me to juſtify my ſelf, which I did the rather that I might have an opportunity to procure that miſchievous Order for the Surrender of *Duncannon* to be recalled, hoping that it had not yet been put in execution. But all that I could obtain was, to have a day appointed when I ſhould be heard. Mr. *Miles Corbet*, who arrived in *England* ſome days before me, was ſo terrified with the Proceedings of the Parliament againſt Sir *Henry Vane* and Major *Saloway*, together with the Name of a Charge of High Treaſon againſt himſelf, that he had never appeared publickly ſince his Arrival, till upon ſome Diſcourſe with me he took Courage, and went with me to the Houſe.

In the mean time *Monk* was come to *Barnet*, and being expected at *London* the next day, Orders were iſſued out for the Old Regiments of the Army to march from the Town; which ſo diſguſted them, that many refuſed to march till their Arrears were paid. This Mutiny began at *Somerſet-houſe*, where one whole Regiment was quartered, who were joined by divers Parties of the reſt. The Cavaliers and Presbyterians of the City hoping to improve this Opportunity, invited them to join with the City,

City, as they termed their Party there, promiſing them their whole Arrears, conſtant Pay, and a preſent Gratuity, giving them ſome Money in hand as an Earneſt of the reſt. The Souldiers took their Money, but withal threatned them, that unleſs they departed immediately, they would fire upon them, declaring their Reſolution to continue faithful to the Parliament. Hereupon the Council of State, that they alſo might cut the Graſs from under their own Feet, ſent Orders to *Monk* to haſten his March, and with all Diligence to come to their Relief. Theſe Male-contents were very numerous, amounting to more than two thouſand Foot; and about the ſame Number of Horſe were ready to join with them. But no conſiderable Perſon appearing at the Head of them, their new Officers, who laboured the whole Night to ſatisfy them, prevailed with them to march the next Morning, upon promiſe that their Arrears ſhould be paid at their next Quarters. The following day *Monk* marched to *London*, in the Head of his Party, which for the moſt part were quartered about *Whitehall*, where Lodgings had been provided for him: and immediately ſome Members of Parliament were ſent to congratulate his Arrival. The ſame Evening I met Vice-Admiral *Lawſon* at Sir *Henry Mildmay*'s Lodgings at *Whitehall*, and knowing him to be familiarly acquainted with *Monk*, I deſired that we might make him a Viſit together, which he readily conſented to. We found

him alone in the Prince's Lodgings; where having congratulated the Succeſs of his Attempt to reſtore the Parliament to the Exerciſe of their Authority, I took the Freedom to tell him, that having an Opportunity put into his hands to free theſe Nations from the Danger of being oppreſſed, as they had lately been, by the Power of the Sword, I hoped he would improve it to the Publick Advantage, by giving his Aſſiſtance to the Parliament in ſettling the Government upon ſo juſt a Foundation that it might be ſupported for the future by the Love and Affections of the People. He anſwered, that as God had owned him in his Work, ſo he deſired that he alone might have the Glory: That it was true, Factions had been carried on; but that he was fully reſolved to promote the Intereſt of a Commonwealth. Which Reſolution when I had commended, and encouraged him as well as I could to continue, he ſaid, *We muſt live and die for and with a Commonwealth.* Then I told him, that I had met lately with one Mr. *Courtney*, who ſaid he was his Relation, and having drunk too much at the Inn where I lay in my way to *London*, boaſted that his Couſin *Monk* would do great things for the King; but that upon my objecting his publick Declarations and Proteſtations to the contrary, he began to doubt, and ſaid, that his Couſin being a Man of Honour, he feared he would be as good as his Word. Yea, ſaid *Monk*, if there were nothing in it but that, I

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muſt make good my Word, and will too. I preſume, ſaid I, that the Anſwer you have lately publiſhed to your Country-mens Letter, hath given them all Satisfaction concerning you. He replied, that he hoped it had. Theſe and many other Proteſtations of Zeal to the Common Cauſe, with many Profeſſions of Friendſhip to our ſelves, we received from him at that time; wherewith Vice Admiral *Lawſon* was ſo ſatisfied, that he ſaid to me after we had parted from him, that ſince the Levite and the Prieſt had paſſed by and would not help us, he hoped we had found a Samaritan that would do it.

The Parliament having notice of *Monk's* Arrival, ſent a Meſſage to him by Mr. *Scot* and Mr. *Robinſon*, to deſire his Attendance at their Houſe the next day: Whither being come, a Chair was ordered for him, but he refuſed to ſit, contenting himſelf to ſtand behind it uncovered, laying his Hand upon the Chair. The Speaker, as he had been ordered, gave him the Thanks of the Houſe for the Service he had done, extolling him above all the Worthies of former and later Ages. To whoſe Rhetorick he anſwered, that as to what was done, he deſired God might have the Glory, in that he had wrought Deliverance by ſo weak an Inſtrument. After which he informed the Houſe, that in his March many Applications had been made to him by all ſorts of Perſons for a Free Parliament; and that he had acquainted them, that the end of his March being to free the Par-

liament from the Power of those who had imposed on them, he doubted not they would take all possible Care of the Publick Good. Then he put them in mind of their Resolution to fill up the House, which he said, would tend much to the Satisfaction of the Nation. He desired that Fanatical Persons, as he called them, might be removed from Places of Trust, and undertook to answer for the Fidelity of those who had assumed the Power in *Ireland*, concluding with Professions of the utmost Zeal and Faithfulness to their Service. Thus he gave the Parliament good Words, for which they heaped their Favours upon him; they voted one thousand Pounds *per Annum* to be setled on him. And that nothing might be wanting to compleat this Scene, *Monk*'s Wife took especial care to treat the Wives of the Members that came to visit her, running her self to fetch the Sweetmeats, and filling out Wine for them; not forgetting to talk mightily of Self-denial, and how much it was upon her Husband's Heart that the Government might be setled in the way of a Commonwealth. In the mean time the Secluded Members had their Meetings with those of the same Faction in the City; and some of those that sate in Parliament were earnest Promoters of their Return to the House, of whom was Col. *Lassels*, and Col. *Richard Ingoldsby*, who had been two of the King's Judges: But the Person I most wondred at was Col. *Hutchinson*, who having exceeded most of the

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Members of the High Court of Juſtice in Zeal for putting the King to Death, at this time acted a very different part, preſſing the Houſe with an unbecoming Importunity to proceed againſt Sir *Henry Vane* for not removing into the Country according to their Order, when it was well known he was ſo much indiſpoſed, that he could not do it without the apparent Hazard of his Life. Many Alarms were given to the Parliament by their faithful Friends in printed Diſcourſes, and other ways, whereby they were put in mind that the Enemies Quarrel was not ſo much againſt Perſons as Things; and, as one termed it, not againſt *Ludlow* and *Rich*, but againſt the Cauſe it ſelf. They were adviſed to accept the Aſſiſtance of their old Servants, and to incourage them in their Fidelity, as the only means to preſerve themſelves and the Commonwealth from certain Ruin: But they were deaf to all ſalutary Counſel, and reſolved to finiſh the Work with the new Inſtruments which they had choſen. To that end they proceeded on the Bill for filling up the Houſe, which by wiſe Men was thought a moſt dangerous Expedient in that Conjuncture, unleſs *Monk* ſhould prove more honeſt than they could believe him to be. The City of *London* alſo took upon them in their Common Council to receive Petitions from the adjacent Counties touching the Paiment of Taxes, and other Publick Affairs, preſuming not only to call in the Petitioners, and to give them Thanks for

their good Affections; but alſo paſſed a Vote that they would pay no Taxes, but ſuch as ſhould be impoſed by a Free Parliament.

The Council of State having received a particular account of the Proceedings in the City, ſent for *Monk* to conſult with him concerning the beſt Means to put a ſtop to theſe Diſorders: and ſome of them moving that the Common Council ſhould be forbidden to ſit, ſome few of the moſt active ſeized, the Gates of the City taken down, the Portcullaces wedged, and the Poſts with their Chains pulled up; *Monk* ſaid, that if they did no more, that would ſerve for nothing, becauſe the Damage might be ſoon repaired. He added, that the Diſaffection of the City was ſo great, that they would never be quiet, till ſome of them were hanged; and that it was abſolutely neceſſary for the preſent to break in pieces their Gates and Portcullaces, to burn their Poſts, and to carry away their Chains to the Tower; offering himſelf, if they would command theſe things to be done, to ſee their Orders put in execution. Hereupon the Council ordered him to march into the City with his Forces early the next Morning, before the Occaſion of his coming amongſt them ſhould be known. Various Reports were publiſhed touching the Deſign of his March into the City, and many ſuſpected that he had already declared for the King. But when the Houſe was met, the Council of State made their Report to us, and informed us of

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the unwarrantable Proceedings of the Common Council, and of their own Resolutions and Orders concerning them; in the execution of which they assured us *Monk* had by that time made a considerable Progress, having already pulled up the Posts with their Chains, taken down the Portcullaces and the Gates of the City, which he had begun to cut in pieces, and seized some of the most active of the Common Council. The Parliament having heard the Report of the Council of State, approved what they had done, and ordered fifty Pounds to be given to *Monk* to defray the Expence of his Dinner that day, he having refused to dine at the Charge of the City, tho earnestly importuned to it by divers Citizens. All things going so well that Morning both in the Army, and in the Parliament, Sir *Arthur Haslerig* was again so elevated, that coming into the House in the Afternoon, he broke out in the presence of divers Members into these Expressions, *All is our own, he will be honest.* But it was not long before his Wine was turned into Water: For as soon as the House was sate, a Letter was presented to the Speaker from *Monk*, the Contents whereof made them easily perceive that his Zeal to their Service began to cool. Therein he acquainted them with what he had done in prosecution of the Orders he had received, and that he wanted Tools and Instruments to finish the Work, having already spoiled all those that he had brought with him to cut the Gates

Gates and other Defences of the City in pieces; that the Mayor and Citizens had promiſed Obedience to the Parliament for the time to come, and therefore he deſired they would reſpite the Execution of what remained of his Inſtructions; hoping that what had been done would be a ſufficient Admonition to the City for their future good Behaviour. The Parliament underſtanding the Tendency of this Letter, were highly offended with *Monk* for preſuming to neglect and diſpute their Commands; and being reſolved to do as much as they could in this matter to preſerve their Authority, they diſpatched a Meſſage to him, requiring the exact Performance of the Orders he had received. Upon the receipt of theſe ſecond Orders, *Monk* ſeemed much diſturbed, but yielded little or no Obedience to them, and lay that Night in the City. The Day following he returned with his Forces to *Whitehal*, and about two days after ſent a Letter to the Houſe, directed to the Speaker, and ſubſcribed by himſelf and ſome of his Officers; wherein they complained that the Parliament had put them upon the late diſobliging Work in the City to render them odious to the Citizens; that they continued to favour the Fanatick Party, by not proſecuting thoſe that had acted with the Army in the late Committee of Safety, and by permitting Sir *Henry Vane* and Col. *Lambert* to ſtay in Town contrary to their own Order for their Removal; that they admitted Men to ſit with them

them in the Houſe, who lay under Accuſations of High Treaſon (meaning Mr. *Miles Corbet* and me, tho not naming us;) that on the contrary they ſhewed a backwardneſs to repoſe any Confidence in thoſe who were their trueſt Friends, upbraiding them with refuſing to approve ſome Officers that had been preſented to them, and delaying to grant Commiſſions to others whom they had approved. They alſo reflected upon the Parliament for not making Proviſion for the Army, nor minding the Publick Work, putting them in mind of the Vote for their Diſſolution in *May* following; and adding ſome threatning Expreſſions, in caſe they ſhould not iſſue out Writs for filling up the Parliament according to their Promiſe. After the reading of this Letter from *Monk*, I perceived moſt of the Members who had any Affection to their Country to be much dejected. But the Parliament having deveſted themſelves of their own Strength, and abandoned all into the hands of *Monk*, tho no Man had ever before preſumed to addreſs himſelf to them in ſo inſolent a manner, yet they took his Letter into conſideration, and reſolved to give him as much Satisfaction as they could with any colour of Juſtice. To that end they quickened their Committee to bring in their Report touching thoſe that had acted in the late Committee of Safety: They ordered Sir *Henry Vane* to depart the Town by a certain Day, and that Col. *Lambert* ſhould render himſelf within a limited time.

time. They alſo reſolved to iſſue out Writs of Summons for recruiting the Houſe; but being fully perſwaded that the Charge of High Treaſon againſt me was groundleſs and frivolous, they omitted to make any Order concerning it. However, being deſirous to procure ſome Relief for thoſe whom I had left at *Duncannon*, and to endeavour that the Forces in *Ireland* might be put into good hands, I hoped that if I ſhould move to be heard, I might at the ſame time have an opportunity to preſs the two laſt things, which I eſteemed very neceſſary in that Conjuncture: I deſired therefore that ſince I conceived my ſelf aimed at in one part of *Monk*'s Letter, the Parliament would be pleaſed to hear me in vindication of my Innocence: But I could not obtain a preſent Hearing, my Caſe being put off till a farther time, and then delayed from day to day, till the Diſſipation of thoſe who ſhould have been my Judges.

Sir *Henry Vane*, according to the late Order, was preparing to leave the Town; of which having notice, I went to make him a Viſit at his Houſe, where he told me that unleſs he were much miſtaken, *Monk* had yet ſeveral Maſques to pull off, aſſuring me for what concerned himſelf, that he had all poſſible Satisfaction of Mind as to thoſe Actions God had enabled him to do for the Commonwealth, and hoped the ſame God would fortify him in his Sufferings, how ſharp ſoever, to bear a faithful and conſtant Teſtimony thereto. *Monk* having alarm'd the Parliament by the

the foresaid Letter, and either not daring to trust himself at *Whitehal*, or thinking *London* a fitter Place to pursue his Design in, he retired with his Forces into the City, where he mustered his Men, and was splendidly entertain'd at Dinner by the Mayor and others. Hereupon the Parliament, who endeavoured by all means to give him Satisfaction, sent Mr. *Thomas Scot* and Mr. *Luke Robinson*, who had been their Commissioners to him, as I mentioned before, to assure him of their good Intentions towards him: But he having now fortified himself by the Conjunction of the City, began to treat them in a manner much different from his former Carriage, not admitting them without difficulty to his Presence; and when he condescended to speak to them, his Discourse tended always to the same purpose with his Letter, aspersing the Proceedings of the Parliament, and amongst other things reproaching them with their Favour to me, as Mr. *Scot* afterwards informed me: Insomuch that he who had so lately undertaken to the Parliament for *Monk*'s Integrity and Fidelity to their Service, began to lose all hopes of him. Yet for all his insolent Carriage to the Parliament and their Commissioners, his Party in the House had the confidence to move that he might be made General of their Forces, the time limited by Act of Parliament for commissionating him with others to command the Army in *England* and *Scotland* being almost expired. Many Arguments

guments were used to that end, tho those which were most pressed were taken from the consideration of the present Posture of their Affairs. But the Parliament still retaining some Sparks of that Courage with which they had been formerly animated, and having found by sad Experience what Miseries they had brought upon the Nation and themselves by trusting *Cromwel* and others too far, chose rather to perish by the hands of an Enemy, if *Monk* should resolve to be so, than by the Delusions of a pretended Friend: and therefore having rejected the Proposition to make him General, they passed a Vote that their Armies in *England* and *Scotland* should be governed by Commissioners, the Number of them to be five, and any three of them to make a *Quorum*. But that they might avoid as much as possible to give him the least just Cause of Discontent, they first agreed that he should be one of the said Commissioners. Then they proceeded to the Nomination of the rest, and chose Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, tho he earnestly pressed them to excuse him, Col. *Morley*, and Col. *Walton*. These four being elected, it was visible that the Balance of the Commission would be in the fifth Man that should be chosen, *Monk* having in a manner declared himself our Enemy, and Col. *Morley* being sufficiently known to be of a temporizing Spirit. Hereupon *Monk*'s Party in the House moved that Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper* might be the fifth Commissioner, and on the other side the Com-

Commonwealth Party had resolved to use their Endeavours for Major-General *Overton*: But upon consideration of the Differences that had been between him and *Monk*, whereby they feared he would not pass, they laid aside that Resolution, and agreed to put up Col. *Alured*. Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper* being first named, was first put to the Question, and by the Majority of Votes excluded. Col. *Alured* being next proposed, the Question was carried for him to the great Satisfaction of the Commonwealth Party. Whereupon sitting by Col. *Martin* in the House, and being perswaded of the Integrity of the Major part of these Commissioners, I desired him to move that the Command of the Forces in *Ireland* might be inserted in this Commission, which, upon his Motion, was ordered accordingly; and the Act being but short, was read thrice, and passed before the rising of the House: And this I did, because I found no other probable way open to force the Power in *Ireland* out of the hands of those that had usurped it. Tho these Proceedings did not a little disturb *Monk*, yet he endeavoured to disguise his Dissatisfaction, and began again to court the Members of Parliament more than before, whilst with the Advice and Assistance of his Party in the City, he was forming a Militia there, and nominating Officers to command them, who were chosen for that purpose, rather on account of their Disaffection to the Parliament than any other good

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Quality to be found about them. Having received Advice of these Transactions, I acquainted Sir *Arthur Haslerig* with my Information, and desired him to think of some speedy Remedy, proposing that he would cause our scattered Forces to rendezvouz forthwith: But Sir *Arthur* was so deluded by the Hypocrisy of *Monk*, that he assured me he had given him all the Satisfaction both by Words and Letters that a Man could give touching his Integrity to the Parliament, shewing me and divers other Members of Parliament, two Letters, which he had lately received from him, wherein were many Expressions of his Zeal for the Establishment of a Commonwealth, with earnest Desires that there might be no Difference between them touching the Way, seeing they were both intirely agreed in the same End.

Monk had taken up his Quarters in the City, at the House of one Col. *Wall*, where I resolved to make him a Visit, in order, either to take him off from that Prejudice, which by a Clause in his Letter to the Parliament he seemed to have against me, or to make a more perfect Discovery of his Intentions; supposing that, being a Member of Parliament, he durst not attempt to seize my Person, or if he did, that such an open Violation of the Privileges of Parliament would awaken them to provide for their own Safety. I found the House where he lodged as full of Souldiers as it could well be, and passed through several Guards before I came

came to the Chamber, where he received his Visits. He was at the time of my coming in a private Gallery, conferring with Mr. *Edmund Calamy* and others of the Clergy. When he had taken leave of them, I was admitted, and at first perceived him to be very shy of me: But after I had acquainted him that the Cause of my Visit was in order to undeceive him, and to remove, if possible, the Prejudices he seemed to have against me, he suddenly changed his Countenance, and treated me with great Familiarity. Whereupon I told him, that having always endeavoured to assert the Authority of the Civil Magistrate in opposition to the Tyranny of the Sword, I was unwilling to have any Difference with him, who had declared for the same things: I assured him that I had publickly disapproved the Answer of Col. *Jones* to that Letter which he had sent to *Ireland*, directed to me, on supposition that I had then been in that Country. I acquainted him with what I had done to preserve the Irish Brigade from joining with the Army Party, and how I had prevailed with them to engage to me under their Hands not to fight against him, upon notice that he had espoused the Cause of the Parliament. I acknowledged that I had displaced one of his Relations in *Ireland*, not out of the least Disrespect to him; but according to a Rule which I conceived to be most just, that those might be restored to their Offices in the Army, who had been removed for

their Affection to the Commonwealth, which was the Caſe; his Kinſman having been made Cornet of Major *Dean*'s Troop, and Cornet *Whalley* diſplaced for the reaſon before mentioned. Hereupon *Monk* ſaid that what I had done was moſt juſt, and that he never took any thing ill from me, either upon that or any other particular account. I then deſired to know what reaſon he might have for entertaining any hard Thoughts of me: to which he replied, that he had nothing to object againſt me but my Favour to the Fanatick Party in *Ireland*. I told him that the Party he meant had not acted as if they had been of the ſame Opinion; for having ſigned an Addreſs to the Parliament, whereby they engaged to be true and faithful to the Civil Authority, and delivered it into my Hands to be preſented on their part; the ſame Men, notwithſtanding their publick Engagement and particular Promiſes to Me, had immediately after my Departure ſigned an Agreement with the Army, thereby rejecting the Civil Power, and conſequently Me, whom the Parliament had intruſted to command their Forces in *Ireland:* That as I had never thought the Profeſſion of Religion to be alone ſufficient to qualify Men for Imployments, if they wanted Affection to the Commonwealth; ſo I could not imagine which way Religion ſhould incapacitate Perſons for the Publick Service, who were not deficient in their Fidelity and Zeal for the Common Good. *Yea,* ſaid he, *we muſt live*

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and die together for a Commonwealth. I hearing him ſay ſo, told him, that I was informed he was much preſſed to reſtore the Secluded Members, who being highly enraged, would not fail to bring all things into confuſion, and poſſibly endeavour to bring in the King. It may be, ſaid he, that they will attempt it, but they ſay they will not; and I aſſure you, tho I bear as much reſpect to Parliaments as any Man, yet if I ſhould obſerve a Parliament to be about ſuch a thing, I would interrupt them therein. Having ſpent about half an hour with *Monk*, I took leave; and as I went from him, I perceived one of his Footmen to ſtand at the Door of the Room where we had diſcourſed, who I ſuppoſe was placed there by his Maſter's Order, to prevent me from dealing with him, as his Conſcience told him he deſerved. He accompanied me to the Foot of the Stairs, and there parted with me, not without great ſhew of Reſpect and Civility; notwithſtanding which it was manifeſt to me through all his Diſguiſes, by the Perſons he favoured and advanced, by the Company he kept, and by the Courſe he ſteered, that he was not bound to that Harbour he pretended; and could I have prevailed with the Majority of the Parliament to be of the ſame opinion, he ſhould not have carried on his Deſign ſo ſmoothly: But into ſuch a deſperate Frenzy were we fallen, that many of the Houſe, either thro Fear, or for what other reaſon I cannot tell, diſcovered themſelves

daily to be Favourers of him; who had by this time ſo far advanced his Affairs, that he reſolved to pull off another Mask: and to that end deſired ſome fitting Members of the Houſe to give a Meeting to ſome of the Secluded Members, in order, as he pretended, to give them Satisfaction touching the Juſtice of their Excluſion, wherein he owned himſelf to be throughly ſatisfied, affirming to Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* and others, that he did this only to anſwer the vexatious Importunity of the Secluded Members. By this means he prevailed with Sir *Arthur* and ſome others to meet them at the Time and Place appointed, where the Secluded Members, and eſpecially Mr. *Anneſley*, reflected ſo undecently upon the Proceedings of the Parliament ſince their Excluſion, that Sir *Arthur* haſtily roſe up, and deſigned to leave the Company: But *Monk* in a droling way deſired him to be patient till he ſhould moderate *Anneſley*, which, he ſaid, he knew well enough how to do. Upon this Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* ſate down again, but the other proceeding in the ſame manner, he loſt all Patience, and riſing up, he departed from the Conference: Mr. *Scot*, Mr. *Robinſon*, Col. *Morley*, and Mr. *Rawleigh* ſtaid there till the Diſcourſe was ended, and ſo did the Chief Juſtice *St. Johns*, who not diſcovering himſelf to be of either Party, ſate obſerving on which ſide the Balance would fall, as if he had been ſtill to chooſe. If the Parliament had not been wilfully blind, theſe

theſe things would have proved ſufficient to open their Eyes. But to leave them without the leaſt colour of Excuſe, it happened at this time that Advice was brought to them from *Ireland*, that thoſe who had uſurped the Power there, for whoſe Fidelity *Monk* had engaged, and who moved not a Step without his Orders and Directions, had publiſhed a Declaration againſt them: The Contents of it were more inſolent than thoſe of the Letter which *Monk* had ſent to the Parliament before he retired into the City; for after they had reproached them with the Favours they extended to Men accuſed of High Treaſon, and the Diſcouragements they laid upon thoſe who had been ſent to *England* to proſecute them, they openly told the Parliament they could no longer own them for an Authority, and therefore deſired that a Free Parliament might be called to put an end to the Confuſions which their Miſcarriages had brought upon the Nation. It was matter of Amazement that ſuch a Declaration ſhould be publiſhed by Men that pretended to act by the Authority of the Parliament; but it was not procured without Oppoſition: For when Sir *Charles Coote* and Col. *Theophilus Jones*, who were the principal Confidents of *Monk* on that ſide, had prepared their Paper and a Party to back it, Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, who had been one of the late King's Judges, fearing the Conſequence of ſuch Practices, moved that the Council of War might be adjourned into the

Caſtle: But not being able to carry that Point, he communicated his Deſign to as many as he thought fit, and making an Excuſe to go out of the Room, he haſtened away, and retired into the Caſtle. Major *Stanley*, Lieut. Colonel *Warren*, and ſome others went immediately, and joined themſelves to him; and amongſt them it was reſolved to ſend out a Party to ſeize Sir *Charles Coote* and his Adherents. But he having notice of their Intentions, had a Party of his Creatures ready; and being accompanied by Col. *Theophilus Jones*, mounted on Horſeback at the Head of them, riding up and down the Streets of *Dublin*, and declaring for a Free Parliament, which Language was by that time ſufficiently underſtood to be for the King. They were followed by a great Rabble of the People, and thereby ſo incouraged, that they formed a Deſign againſt the Caſtle; and having poſted their Guards upon all the Avenues, they ſent a Summons to Sir *Hardreſs Waller* to deliver the Place into their Hands. The Governour in his Anſwer to the Summons endeavoured to convince them of the Injuſtice of their Attempt, reminding them of the Declarations they had lately made to be true and faithful to the preſent Parliament; deſiring them to conſider how much it was their Intereſt to adhere to them, ſince it was under their Authority that they had acted for ſo many Years paſt againſt the late King and his Family, and that their Titles to the Poſſeſſion of the Lands

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forfeited by the Rebels were founded upon the ſame Power. Having diſpatched this Anſwer to Sir *Charles Coote*, he clothed all the Souldiers out of the Stores, and diſtributed a Sum of ready Money amongſt them to ſecure their Fidelity, with Promiſes of a farther Gratuity, if they would ſtand by him: But Sir *Charles Coote* found a way to treat with ſome of the Gariſon, and after two or three days by large Offers and advantageous Terms, prevailed with them to deliver their Governour and the Caſtle into his Hands. By the Expulſion of Sir *Hardreſs Waller* out of the Army two Regiments fell into the hands of thoſe that had ſeized the Government in *Ireland*, for which Sir *Charles Coote* had ſome difficulty to find Colonels, having already diſpoſed of two to himſelf, one to his Brother *Richard Coote*, another to his Brother *Chudleigh Coote*, a fifth to his Brother *Thomas Coote*, and a ſixth to his Couſin *St. George*. Which unequal Diſtribution was ſo reſented by ſome of his own Party, that Major *Barrington* moved at one of their Councils of War, that a more equal Hand might be kept in the diſpoſal of Imployments. Whereupon Sir *Charles Coote*, after he had ſeverely reprimanded the Major, diſcharged him from his Command in the Army. In the mean time *Monk* had deſired the Mayor of *London* to aſſemble the Common Council (tho the Parliament had diſſolved them) and in defiance to their Authority attended on them at *Guildhal*,

excuſing himſelf for what, he ſaid, he had been conſtrained to do in the City by Order of the Council of State, and aſſuring them that he was much troubled for that rigorous Work. He declared himſelf ready to expoſe his Perſon to all Dangers for their Service, and that he had not forgot the kind Letter they had ſent him whilſt he was yet in the North: That he was then of the ſame opinion with them, but was obliged at that time to conceal it, till he might have an opportunity to diſcover his Sentiments with better advantage. He alſo acquainted them that he had ſent a Letter to the Parliament, that they would fill up the Houſe, and put an end to their ſitting by the *6th* of *May*. By this means he gave ſuch Encouragement to the Cavalieriſh Party, that the Rabble of them, as he paſſed by from *Guild-hal*, cried out for a Free Parliament; and perceiving him not diſpleaſed with their Inſolence, they made Bonfires in *London* and *Weſtminſter* for roaſting the Rump, as they preſumed to call that Parliament, who in the five Years time that they governed without interruption, had raiſed the Glory of the Nation from the Duſt wherein it had been buried by the Negligence and Corruption of the preceding Governments, and had rendred the Engliſh Name formidable to all *Europe*. This riotous Diſorder, how pleaſing ſoever it was to *Monk*, yet it could not be properly charged upon him, becauſe he had given no publick Order for what had been done,

and

and therefore he continued to declare as loud as ever how faithful he would be to the Commonwealth. And tho Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* was informed of the foregoing Particulars, and many other things that ſeemed fully to diſcover *Monk*'s Deſign : and tho I earneſtly importuned him to improve the little time that remained to prevent the threatned Ruin, by a ſpeedy Reunion with our old Friends, by adjourning the Parliament to the Tower, and by drawing our diſperſed Forces together ; yet he would not be perſwaded to any thing of that nature, perſiſting ſtill in his Opinion that all would be well, and that *Monk* would be honeſt. And that he might have no Pretext to be otherwiſe, Sir *Arthur* doubting, by reaſon of the Correſpondence that continued between *Monk* and the Secluded Members, that, in caſe the Writs for filling up the Parliament ſhould not be iſſued out by the time prefixed, he would take advantage of that Failure to bring them into the Houſe, laboured diligently with the Parliament that it might be done to his ſatisfaction, and accordingly the Bill was paſſed within the time limited. But the Secluded Members being grown confident of attaining their Ends by another way, deported themſelves at a much higher rate than they were accuſtomed to do ; Major *Harlow*, who was one of them, taking the Liberty to ſay openly in *Weſtminſter Hall*, that they would have their Footmen choſen to ſupply their Places. Sir *Gilbert Gerrard* alſo

brought

brought an Action againſt Col. *Alured* for denying him Admiſſion to the Houſe after the laſt Reſtitution of the Parliament; but the Colonel having acted by Order of the Parliament, they ordered the Proceſs to be ſtopped. Yet ſo low were the Affairs of the Parliament, and their Authority ſo little regarded even in *Weſtminſter Hall*, that Sir *Robert Pye*, who had been committed to the Tower by their Order, ſuing for his *Habeas Corpus* at the Upper Bench, and Judg *Newdigate* demanding of the Counſel for the Commonwealth what they had to ſay why it ſhould not be granted, the Counſel anſwered, they had nothing to ſay againſt it. Whereupon the Judg, tho no Enemy to Monarchy, yet aſhamed to ſee them ſo unfaithful to their Truſt, replied that if they had nothing to ſay, he had; for that Sir *Robert Pye* being committed by an Order of the Parliament, an inferior Court could not diſcharge him.

The Houſe having agreed to all things neceſſary for iſſuing out Writs to elect Members for filling up the Parliament, ordered a Warrant to be ſigned by the Speaker, whereby the Commiſſioners of the Seal ſhould be authorized to ſend out Writs according to Cuſtom: But he refuſed to do it, pretending that if he ſhould ſign any Warrant to that purpoſe, he might be ſued at Law by every individual Perſon in whoſe room any other ſhould be elected, and therefore deſired that the Houſe would paſs an Act to enable their Clerk to ſign the Warrant; or

that

that the Commissioners of the Seal might issue out their Writs of Summons upon a general Act to be passed to that end. It was answered, that the Duty of his Place obliged him to perform the Commands of the House; that having received their Order in that Affair, he was thereby fully indemnified, and that he signed not the Warrant in his Personal, but in his Politick Capacity. But he would receive no Satisfaction, persisting positively in his Refusal, and submitting himself to their Pleasure, if they should think fit to send him to the Tower, or to choose another Person to be Speaker in his Place. Whereupon the House condescended to pass an Act to impower the Clerk to sign the Warrant to the Commissioners of the Seal: tho for my own part, I was for taking the Speaker at his Word, and placing another Person in the Chair; and instead of sending Mr. *Lenthal* to the Tower, to have adjourned our selves thither; but I could prevail with few to be of my opinion. This Business being thus passed, and my Doubts increasing touching the Event of these things, I earnestly desired the House, that I might either be presently heard concerning the Affairs of *Ireland*, and my own Conduct there, or that a short Day might be appointed when they would hear me without any farther Delay, alledging for the Reason of my Importunity, that tho my Enemies in that Country had by their late Actions manifested to all the World that their Enmity

to

to the Parliament was much greater than to me; yet being uncertain what ſort of Men might ſoon have the principal Influence in that Houſe, I could not believe they would think it convenient that a Charge of High Treaſon, how frivolous ſoever, ſhould be tranſmitted to them againſt one of their old and faithful Servants. Mr. *Thomas Scot* thinking my Diſcourſe to reflect upon his Son, who had commanded the Forces before *Duncannon*, addreſſed himſelf to the Speaker, and ſaid: That tho he would not undertake to anſwer for all who had oppoſed me in *Ireland*, yet he might affirm that one of them was their faithful Servant. To which I replied, tho contrary to the Order of the Houſe, all things there alſo beginning to fall into confuſion, That I could not poſitively ſay who that one was that the Gentleman who ſpoke laſt meant, but ſhould ſuppoſe he intended his Son, whom I aſſured them they could not think to be ſuch a Perſon as he had repreſented him, unleſs they eſteemed the Inſurrection of Sir *George Booth* to have been for their Service, he having attempted to juſtify the Lawfulneſs of it in my Preſence. Upon this diſpute, the Speaker preſuming he ſhould be well ſeconded, ventured to diſcover his Malice alſo againſt me, reminding the Houſe of an Order they had made for the Surrender of *Duncannon*, to which he ſaid he knew not that any Obedience had been yielded; and therefore thought it neceſſary the Houſe ſhould be aſſured of that before

before any Order were made upon my Motion. In this Diſorder and Confuſion the Houſe roſe about ſix in the Evening. The Council of State ſat late that Night, and received Advice that the Secluded Members deſigned to force themſelves into the Houſe the next Morning: Thereupon they ſent a Meſſage to *Monk* to acquaint him with the Information they had, and required him to prevent it if it ſhould be attempted. He returned for Anſwer to the Council, that he was well aſſured no ſuch thing was deſigned; but for their Satisfaction, and to hinder it if endeavoured, he would not fail to double the Guards that were to attend the Parliament. But for all this the Secluded Members, attended by divers of *Monk*'s Officers, went early the next Morning to *Weſtminſter*, and were admitted into the Houſe by the Guard he had placed there, who were more ready to defend than oppoſe them; and *Monk* having thus violated his Promiſes, and abuſed the Truſt repoſed in him by the Publick, took up his Quarters again at *Whitehall* the ſame Morning. Being inform'd of theſe Tranſactions, I reſolved for my own part to give no countenance to the Secluded Members by ſitting with them who had no Right to any Place in Parliament, having been expelled the Houſe by more than a Quorum of lawful Members. But that notice might be taken that I had not withdrawn my ſelf from the Service of the Publick, nor was at the Head of any Forces, as was given out,

I thought convenient to pass sometimes through *Westminster-Hall*; where Mr. *George Montague*, who knew I declined to come to the House, meeting me, and asking me the reason of it, I answered, that having done as much as I could to serve the Commonwealth, and seeing an Impossibility of contending against the present Torrent, I had resolved to absent my self from the Place where the Parliament used to meet, that I might publickly disown the Authority of those who had violently possessed themselves of the House, and not seem to consent to the Confusions they were bringing upon us. He replied, that in his opinion the Conditions upon which the Secluded Members had entred the House, were more dishonourable than those upon which others were gone out, and that he was not willing to sit among them, they having engaged to make *Monk* General of all the Forces by Sea and Land, to settle a constant Maintenance for the Army, to appoint a New Parliament to be chosen; and when these things were dispatched, to put a Period to themselves within a day or two at the most. Yet some of the lawful Members of Parliament, either through Fear or Curiosity, or some other Motive not known to me, went into the House and sat amongst them. Another part of them, being about seventeen in number, whereof divers were of the Council of State, went to *Monk* to be informed from his own Mouth of the Reasons of these Procedings. He received them

them with no leſs Civility than formerly; and having underſtood from them the occaſion of their coming, he made as ſolemn Proteſtations of his Zeal to a Commonwealth-Government as he had ever done, deſiring them to believe that the Permiſſion he had given to the Secluded Members to enter the Houſe, was only to free himſelf from their Importunity, and that he would take effectual care to prevent them from doing any hurt in that Place. But theſe Gentlemen having reſolved to try him to the utmoſt, demanded farther if he would join with them againſt *Charles Stuart* and his Party: In anſwer to which he applied himſelf to Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, who was one of them, and ſaid, Sir *Arthur*, I have often declared to you my Reſolution ſo to do: then taking off his Glove, and putting his Hand within Sir *Arthur*'s, he added; *I do here proteſt to you in the Preſence of all theſe Gentlemen, that I will oppoſe to the utmoſt the ſetting up of* Charles Stuart, *a ſingle Perſon, or a Houſe of Peers.* After this he began to expoſtulate with them touching their Suſpicions, ſaying; *What is it that I have done in bringing theſe Members into the Houſe? Are they not the ſame that brought the King to the Block? tho others cut off his Head, and that juſtly.*

The Secluded Members having forced themſelves into the Houſe, took upon them the Authority of a Parliament, making Votes and enacting Laws as they pleaſed, which Power they had hitherto conſtantly denied to be in a Houſe

Houſe of Commons alone: but we muſt believe the Caſe to have been much altered upon their return; and that a Houſe of Commons alone, without a King or Houſe of Peers, might do any thing for betraying the Publick Cauſe, tho it could not have any colour of Authority to juſtify them in doing the leaſt thing for the ſecurity of it. In purſuance of theſe Principles, they paſſed an Act to make *Monk* General of all the Forces belonging to the Parliament in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, both by Sea and Land, only they joined Col. *Montague* with him in the Office of Admiral; which tho *Monk* reſented as a Violation of the Treaty he had made with the Secluded Members, yet he thought not convenient to inſiſt upon the Alteration of that Particular. They continued the Cuſtoms and Exciſe, and laid other Taxes on the People, borrowing great Sums of the City of *London* on the Credit of their Acts. *Monk* took away Col. *Walton*'s Regiment of Horſe, and gave it to Col. ——*Howard*; and having made choice of two hundred Horſe for his own Guard, he appointed Col. *Philip Howard* to command them. He diſpoſed of Col. *Rich*'s Regiment to Col. *Ingoldsby*; but before the Order could be put in execution, Col. *Rich* hoping he might prevail with his Men, as he had done formerly, to declare for the Lawful Authority, he went down to the Quarters where they lay. At his Arrival moſt of them promiſed to remain faithful to him; but when Col.

Col. *Ingoldsby* came down, partly by his own Intereſt among them, they having been under his command in the time of *Cromwel*, and partly by the Torrent of the uſurped Authority, which then ran that way, he prevailed with the greateſt part of them to deſert their Colonel; who finding himſelf abandoned by moſt of them, yielded the reſt to him, and declared his Reſolution to acquieſce. Capt. *Walcot*, who had been an Officer in my Regiment, and by me preferred to be Captain of a Troop of Horſe when I ſent our Brigade into *England*, having gained an Intereſt in the Officers and Souldiers by his good Conduct, and ſuppoſing to find amongſt them the ſame Affection to the Good Old Cauſe they had always manifeſted ſince their Arrival in *England*, went towards *Cheſter*, where they were quartered; and being arrived within twelve Miles of that place, he ſent a Letter to Major *Woodward*, of whoſe Fidelity to the Parliament he thought himſelf ſure, to acquaint him with his Reſolution of going to them. But ſo great a Change had the late Turn wrought in Mens Minds, that the Major gave Capt. *Walcot*'s Letter to Col. *Redman*, who by *Monk*'s Order then commanded our Iriſh Brigade, and who immediately diſpatched a Party of Horſe to ſeize the Captain; which having done in obedience to the Order they had received, rather than from any Inclination to ſuch an Imploiment, they

gave him an Opportunity to make his escape. Capt. *Walcot* coming afterwards to *London*, went to *Monk*, and having delivered his Opinion freely touching the Publick Affairs, and the Usage he had lately met with, *Monk* fell into a violent Passion against him; but soon recollecting himself, he treated him in a more civil manner, and gave him a Pasport to return into *Ireland*, where his Family and Estate lay, supposing thereby to render him less able to assist his Enemies than if he should continue in *England*. The Secluded Members having forbidden the Council to sit, chose one to supply their place, which was composed of Mr. *Denzil Holles*, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Mr. *Crew*, Mr. *Swinfen*, Sir *Willian Lewis*, Sir *William Waller*, Col. *John Birch*, Col. *George Monk*, Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, Col. *Norton*, Mr. *Knightly*, Col. *Herbert Morley*, Sir *Harbottle Grimestone*, Mr. *Arthur Annesley*, Sir *Richard Onslow*, Chief Justice *St. Johns*, Serjeant *Brown*, Col. *Brown*, &c. This New Council was vested with large Powers of imprisoning such as they suspected, and doing other things sutable to the Designs then on foot. Sir *Hararess Waller* obtained of them, by means of his Kinsman Sir *William Waller*, a Permission to come over to *England*, and to be brought before them; where having subscribed an Engagement to acquiesce, and to appear upon Summons, he was discharged from Custody. But Sir *Charles Coot*, who was well acquainted with

with the Bottom of *Monk*'s Deſign, and conſcious to himſelf how much he had exaſperated the King's Friends in *Ireland* by his conſtant Oppoſition to them, having added to all the reſt the Execution of one *Stuart*, that was related to the Royal Family, thought he could never do things horrid enough to thoſe of his own Party, in order to reconcile himſelf to the other: Therefore that he might give them what Aſſurances he could that he was wicked enough to be imployed and truſted by them, he ſent a Party of Horſe and ſeized the Chief Juſtice *Coke*, to make ſome amends to his Sacred Majeſty by that Sacrifice. The grand Deſign of deſtroying the Commonwealth being ſo far advanced, *Monk* cauſed a Declaration to be drawn in the Name of the Officers about *London*, and recommended to the reſt of the Officers in the three Nations, declaring it to be their Duty and Reſolution to ſubmit to the Authority that was over them, and to obey ſuch Orders as they ſhould receive from them: which when they were upbraided with, as a thing contrived to betray the Publick Cauſe, many of the Officers ſhewed themſelves ſo ſenſible of the Conſequences of it, that they earneſtly preſſed that a Council of War might be called; making uſe of ſome Reaſons to perſwade their General to it, but indeed to unite themſelves to each other, and in a publick manner to expreſs their Reſolutions to lay down their Lives for the

Commonwealth. But *Monk* being informed of their Deſign, diſperſed them to their reſpective Commands, to which they tamely ſubmitted, notwithſtanding the big Words they had ſpoken without doors. Hereupon the Secluded Members ſuſpecting Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* to have had a principal hand in raiſing this Spirit in the Officers of the Army, ſent to him to take his Place in the Houſe where the Parliament ought to ſit, which to that time he had not done. Sir *Arthur* finding it impoſſible to reſiſt the Stream, being accompanied with divers Members, went in to them; where, as I have been informed by ſome that were then preſent, he did not behave himſelf with that Courage and Reſolution that uſually attended him, but pleaded in his excuſe the Reverence he always had for the Authority of Parliaments, and endeavoured to juſtify himſelf touching any Violations that had been made againſt it, aſſuring them of his Intention to acquieſce under the preſent Power. Major General *Lambert* alſo, who had hitherto concealed himſelf in hopes of finding an Opportunity to appear at the Head of ſome Party, and thereby to prevent the Deſign of *Monk*, finding that the Army had for the moſt part ſubmitted to the Authority of the Secluded Members, ſurrendred himſelf to the New Council of State, in hopes of better Terms from them than he could have promiſed himſelf from the former, who he thought would

would have been more likely to resent the Force he had put upon the Parliament: But they contrary to his Expectations requiring him to give Security for his quiet Deportment, upon his refusal so to do, committed him to the Tower.

Most of the Commonwealth-Party were very sensible of the dangerous Condition of their Affairs; and that they might not be altogether wanting to their own Preservation, and to the Service of the Publick, some of the principal Persons among them had divers Meetings; at one of which I took the liberty to make the following Propositions: That seven of the Council of State, and three of the Generals that had been appointed by the Parliament, should sign such Orders as were necessary for putting our Design in execution: That the Regiment of Col. *Moss* which lay in *Kent* and not far from *London*, and another which lay in the Borough of *Southwark* commanded by Lieut. Col. *Farnly*, consisting in all of more than 2000 old Souldiers, of whose Integrity and Affection we had good Assurance, should be ordered to march to the Tower to join with Col. *Morley*'s Regiment which was already there, and would be ready to receive them, having sent to me to let me know that the Tower should be at my Command whensoever I pleased to desire it: That the Commanders of these Forces should take with them Provisions for six Months, giving Tickets for the Quantity so taken payable by

the Parliament of *England:* That the Militia of *London* which had been lifted during the Government of the Parliament, ſhould be authorized to meet as there ſhould be occaſion, to aſſiſt the Forces in the Tower: That four or five places of Rendezvouz ſhould be appointed for the Forces of the Army that lay ſcattered up and down in ſeveral Parts of the Nation; and that Officers ſhould be agreed upon to appear at the Head of them: That the Souldiers both Horſe and Foot ſhould have the liberty either to follow their old Officers, or to appoint new: That thoſe Officers who ſhould prevail with the major part of their Men to follow them ſhould continue in their reſpective Poſts; and that thoſe that appeared heartily to promote this Deſign, tho they could not perſwade the greater part of their Souldiers to follow them, ſhould have Proviſion made for them equal to their Merits: That the Country-Militia both Horſe and Foot ſhould be authorized to draw together, and be impowered to ſeize and diſarm ſuch Perſons in the reſpective Counties as were known Enemies to the Commonwealth: That the Fleet ſhould be ordered to declare at the ſame time, and to ſend one or two thouſand Seamen to the Aſſiſtance of thoſe in the Tower, which I conceived they might do without danger to the Nation, becauſe the Enemy we were to contend with, was inteſtine and not from abroad. I acquainted them that Vice-

Admiral

Admiral *Lawſon* who commanded the Fleet had declared his Reſolution to continue faithful to the Parliament, which could not well be doubted by any that would reflect upon his former Conduct, he having taken the Oath for abjuring the King's Family, and being one of the Council of State. To this was added, that all Perſons who ſhould act by the Parliament's Authority in this Service, ſhould be juſtified in ſo doing; that the Governours of Gariſons ſhould be required to refuſe Obedience to any Power which was not derived from the Lawful Authority of the Parliament, whoſe place the ſecluded Members had now uſurped; and that a Declaration ſhould be forthwith prepared to ſhew the Grounds and Reaſons, together with the Neceſſity of theſe Procedings. Some of thoſe that were preſent promiſed to adviſe with their Friends of the Council of State, and hoped that a *Quorum* of them as well as of the Generals might be found to put the things in execution that ſhould be agreed on. But we being ripe for the Correction of Heaven, nothing could prevent it, our Enemies ſucceeding in all their Attempts, and all our Endeavours proving abortive. In the mean time the Companies of *London* made a great Entertainment for *Monk*, where the Bargain they had driven with him was ratified and confirmed by diſſolute and unbecoming Debauchery; for it was his Cuſtom not to depart from thoſe Publick Meetings till

he was as drunk as a Beaſt. After Dinner a Perſon was introduc'd, who in Verſe addreſſed himſelf to *Monk* for the return of the King, which he heard without reproof, tho at the ſame time he proteſted to Col. *Okey* who went to take leave of him in order to repair to his Command, and deſir'd to be ſatisfied of his Intentions touching *Charles Stuart*, *That he would oppoſe him to the utmoſt*, and gave him his Hand before all the Officers then preſent, as a Pledg of his Sincerity.

The Secluded Members being convinced that the Sword was likely to prove the beſt Title they ſhould find to their Authority, prepared an Act to ſettle the Militia in ſuch hands as they might ſafely truſt, and took into their Conſideration how to ſettle the Sum of one thouſand pounds year upon *Monk* which had been voted to be given him by the Parliament. The thing in diſpute was, whether the ſaid Settlement ſhould be ſecured to him out of the King's Lands at *Hampton-Court*, as he himſelf had deſired of the Parliament, that he might lay them more profoundly aſleep, or whether a Sum of ready Money ſhould be paid to him in lieu of it. Divers of the Members of Parliament were for making good their former Order upon *Hampton-Court*; and ſeveral of the Secluded Members hating the Traitor, tho they accepted the Treaſon, concurred with them, that ſo the Grant might be rendred uſeleſs to him. But his Party amongſt them

them was so great, that tho it was carried to be out of the Lands at *Hampton Court*, yet in conclusion they obtained a Vote that twenty thousand Pounds should be paid to him out of the Publick Treasury instead of it.

The Irish Officers also, who had assumed the Civil as well as the Military Power, presented him with a Pair of Spurs and a Hilt for a Sword, all of Gold; together with a rich Hatband and an embroidered Belt, to manifest their acknowledgment and acceptance of his good Service in betraying the Publick Cause. The Lord of *Lauderdale*, with other Scots who had been taken Prisoners at the Battle of *Worcester*, and continued in Custody from that time, was set at Liberty; and the Secluded Members gave order also to discharge Sir *George Booth* from his Imprisonment, if he would engage to make his appearance upon Summons; which he thinking to be injurious to him, who had endeavoured to do no more than they themselves were attempting, refused the Condition, but was soon after released without entring into any Obligation.

The new Council of State being informed of some Designs against the usurped Power, issued out Warrants for apprehending divers Officers of the Army; and having some Jealousy of others that were Members of Parliament, they procured an Order of their House to authorize them to seize any Member who had not

not ſate ſince the coming in of the Secluded Members, if there ſhould be occaſion. And tho theſe Men could thus trample upon the Privileges of that Body, whereof they pretended to be Members; yet to ſhew how zealous they were for Presbytery, they ordered Copies of the Covenant to be fairly drawn, and hung up in every Pariſh Church throughout *England*.

The Lords perceiving which way things were turning, ſolicited *Monk* that they might take their Places according to antient Cuſtom in the Houſe appointed for their ſitting, alledging that nothing done by the Commons without their Aſſent could juſtly be eſteemed Legal. But it was not yet time for *Monk* to diſcover himſelf ſo openly, before the Army was better prepared, and the new Militia ſettled: And therefore he not only gave a poſitive Denial to their Demand, but placed a Guard of Soldiers upon their Houſe, to prevent the Lords from acting the ſame part that the Secluded Commons had done.

Major General *Overton* ſtill continued in his Government of *Hull*, and ſuſpecting *Monk* to be an Enemy to the Commonwealth, had hitherto refuſed to yield obedience to his Orders. Whereupon the Secluded Members being well informed of the importance of the Place from the time they had ordered it to be kept by Sir *John Hotham* againſt the late King, impowered *Monk* to uſe all means

means to remove the Major General from that Command. *Monk* in purſuance of their Directions, prevailed with Col. *Alured*, who was one of the Generals appointed by the Parliament, to go down to *Hull*, and to endeavour to perſwade Major General *Overton* to quit the Place. Accordingly he went down, and having acquainted the Major General with the Reaſon of his Journey, was preſently put into the poſſeſſion of it. It was matter of wonder to me that Col. *Alured*, in whom the Commonwealth Party had repoſed ſo great Truſt, would ſuffer himſelf to be imployed in ſuch a Meſſage to one of the moſt faithful Servants of the Parliament. But I was ſomewhat more ſatisfied when Major General *Overton* came to *London*, where he aſſured me that Col. *Alured* had neither ſaid nor done at *Hull* any thing unbecoming an honeſt Man; but that upon the News of the Intruſion of the Secluded Members, the Cavalier Party in the Town had ſo increaſed, and his own Soldiers ſplit into ſuch Diviſions, that he had no hopes left of keeping it.

At this time it was diſputed whether the Secluded Members ſhould agree upon a Settlement, or whether it ſhould be left for a Parliament to do: Some were for calling in the Lords who ſate in he Year 1648, that they, together with the Commons, might enter into Treaty with the King for a future Eſtabliſhment, which ſhould be grounded chiefly upon the Conceſſi-

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ons made by the laſt King in the Iſle of *Wight*. But *Monk* being earneſtly deſirous to bring back the King without any Conditions, in hopes thereby to procure a Recompence equal to the Greatneſs of his Treachery, prevented the Succeſs of that Propoſition; which part he acted ſo openly, that divers of the Secluded and other Members of Parliament reſolved to imitate him: and tho all of them had engaged the Nation in a War againſt the King, had contributed the utmoſt of their Endeavours to carry it on, and called in the Scotiſh Nation to aſſiſt them in it; yet upon a Debate whether thoſe of the King's Party ſhould be admitted to elect Members for the ſucceeding Parliament, it was, to the aſtoniſhment of all Men but themſelves, carried for the Affirmative. Having done this, they ordered Writs to be iſſued out in the Name of the Keepers of the Liberties of *England*, excluding ſuch from being choſen who had ſerved the King, which was contrived to lead the People blindfold to their own Ruin, and to put ſome colour upon the Cheat they were about to impoſe on them. For they knew that having given leave for the Cavaliers to chooſe, and by every Step they had taken, manifeſted their Malice againſt the Commonwealth, it would certainly come to paſs, that either the Sons of thoſe of the King's Party, or at leaſt ſuch as had privately favoured that Intereſt, would for the moſt part be choſen in

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that Conjuncture, when the Commonwealth Party were under the greateſt Diſcouragements, and could not appear with Safety under the uſurped Authority. They underſtood alſo that tho it ſhould happen, contrary to the Excluſion before-mentioned, that thoſe who had been actually in Arms for the King ſhould be choſen and returned to ſit in the Houſe, yet we were not likely to procure them to be ejected at ſuch a time as this; having not been able, without the greateſt difficulty, to caſt out, even from *Richard*'s Convention, thoſe that had been in Arms againſt us.

The Secluded Members not thinking themſelves ſecure, till they had put the Militia into the hands of ſuch as were Enemies to the Commonwealth, paſſed an Act to that purpoſe, and ordered it to be printed and publiſhed: Whereat the Officers about *Monk* were ſo offended, that tho they had loſt all Affection to the Publick Cauſe, yet ſuſpecting that the forming ſuch a Militia, and intruſting it in the Hands of Commiſſioners that were known to be Favourers of the King's Party, might prove injurious, if not deſtructive to the Army, by bringing in the Son of the late King without them, they applied themſelves to *Monk*, and earneſtly deſired that in conſideration of his own and their Danger, he would prevent the Execution of the ſaid Act. Whereupon he ſent a Letter to the pretended Parliament, to

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let them know, that being informed of the Diſaffection of the Commiſſioners nominated in the Act they had paſſed touching the Militia, he deſired them to forbear the Execution of it, leſt the Perſons they had intruſted therein might erect ſuch a Power in oppoſition to the Army, as might be ſufficient to bring in *Charles Stuart*. The Letter being read in the Houſe, cauſed a great Perplexity amongſt them, many not knowing what Judgment to make of it, and ſome of them fearing that *Monk* would deceive them at laſt. But others underſtood him well enough; and therefore, notwithſtanding his Letter, Mr. *Prynn* went to the Printer, and procured the Act to be immediately made publick, knowing it to be the deſire of *Monk* that it ſhould be ſo. Yet that they might correſpond with him in his Deceit, they ſent Sir *William Waller* and one more to give him ſatisfaction concerning the Particulars of the Act, which he pretended to ſcruple. They acquainted him, that tho there were many Perſons nominated in the Act, who might be willing to do as was ſuſpected, yet that by it none were permitted to act as Commiſſioners, but ſuch as ſhould own the Juſtice of the Parliament's Cauſe againſt the King to the Year 1648, by ſubſcribing a Paper to that purpoſe. They alſo informed him that the ſaid Comiſſioners were not to appoint any Colonels or Captains to act in the Militia, before they ſhould be

be approved by the Council of State. *Monk*, being willing to receive ſatisfaction, having ſent the forementioned Letter only at the Importunity of the Officers, reſolved to be contented with this Anſwer; tho all Men ſaw how little Conſcience the Cavalier Party made of ſigning any Paper, in order to promote the Intereſt of their Faction.

The Act for the Militia being paſſed, the Command of all the Forces and Gariſons ſettled on *Monk*, and the Fleet in his Power in conjunction with Col. *Montague*, the pretended Parliament authorized their Council of State to provide for the Publick Safety on all Emergencies, and to diſpoſe Affairs as they ſhould think fit till the meeting of the next Parliament. Which being done, and the Houſe ready to paſs the Act for their Diſſolution, Mr. *Crew* who had been as forward as any Man in beginning and carrying on the War againſt the laſt King, moved, that before they diſſolved themſelves, they would bear their witneſs againſt the horrid Murder, as he called it, of the King. This unexpected Motion prevailed with many then preſent to deny their Concurrence to that Act againſt the King, tho not to reflect in the ſame manner on thoſe who had been concerned in it: And one of them concluding his Diſcourſe with proteſting that he had neither Hand nor Heart in that Affair, Mr. *Thomas Scot*, who had

had been so much deluded by the Hypocrisy of *Monk*, as I have already related, in abhorrence of that base Spirit, said, That tho he knew not where to hide his Head at that time, yet he durst not refuse to own, that not only his Hand, but his Heart also was in it: and after he had produced divers Reasons to prove the Justice of it, he concluded, that he should desire no greater Honour in this World, than that the following Inscription might be engraven on his Tomb; *Here lieth one who had a Hand and a Heart in the execution of* Charles Stuart *late King of* England. Having said this, he and most of the Members who had a Right to sit in Parliament, withdrew from the House; so that there was not the fourth part of a *Quorum* of lawful Members present in the House, when the Secluded Members, who had been voted out of the Parliament by those that had an undisputed Authority over their own Members, undertook to dissolve the Parliament, which was not to be done, unless by their own Consent; and whether that Consent was ever given, is submitted to the Judgment of all impartial Men. This Face of Authority being vanished after a full Discovery of the Malignity of their Intentions, I supposed the Cruelty of their Council of State would not fail to increase with their Fears; and therefore, tho I continued to pass some times thro *Westminster Hall*, that they might

might see I was not withdrawn; yet I did it not so frequently and publickly as I had done, changing my Lodging from the House of one Friend to that of another; and when I lay at my own House, taking the best care I could to secure my self from being surprized.

In the mean time a considerable Party of those who had been engaged against the King, resolved to raise a Sum of Mony to pay such Troops as should be willing to draw together against *Monk* and his Partizans, and that two of their number should be bound for the peaceable Deportment of Major General *Lambert* in the penal Sum of five thousand Pounds, so much being demanded by the Council of State; which Bond, if it should come to be forfeited, and the Persons bound constrained to pay the Mony, it was agreed that the said Sum should be discharged out of the Publick Stock. Mr. *Slingsby Bethel* was imployed by the most eminent Persons concerned in this Design, to communicate their Resolutions to Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, whom he attended at his Lodgings to that purpose, and found him in a most melancholy Posture, sitting in a Chair, and leaning his Head upon both his Hands. Mr. *Bethel* asked him the reason of his trouble; and received for answer, that having been with *Monk* that Morning, and pressing him to give him some assurance of his Care of the Commonwealth, reminding him of his Oaths and

Protestations of Fidelity to the Cause, *Monk* had treated him in an unusual manner, and demanded how he could expect any thing from him, whom he had endeavoured to make less than he was before he marched to *London?* Sir *Arthur* added to the rest of his Discourse to Mr. *Bethel*, *We are undone*, *We are undone.* Thus he that had abandoned his old Friends to support the Interest of *Monk*, and would not be perswaded of the Malignity of his Designs, whereby he had lost many Opportunities of recovering all, was at last deserted by him, and almost driven to despair. Mr. *Scot* also informed me that he had lost all hopes of getting such a number of our Council of State together, as should be necessary to put in execution the Design which I had propos'd; and that, having notice that the new Council of State had resolved to seize his Person, he designed to retire into the Country, as well to secure himself, as to endeavour to be elected into the ensuing Convention, which by the Vote of the Secluded Members was to be called a Parliament. These things put me in further doubt of my own Safety, and moved me to provide for my self as well as I could. To that end I seldom lay at my own House after Mr. *Scot*'s Departure from *London*; and finding my self deprived of all means to serve the Publick, and expecting the utmost Extremities that Malice could invent against those that had faithfully served their Coun-

Country, I resolved also to withdraw my self from the Observation of the Usurpers, and to go into the Country. In pursuance of this Resolution I departed from *London*, accompanied by my Wife in a small Chariot drawn by two Horses, having sent two Servants before well mounted to attend me on the Road, with a led Horse for my self, if there should be occasion. The second Day of my Journey early in the Morning we perceived one to ride very hard after us, who coming up to us, proved to be a Person that waited on my Mother, and was sent by our Relations with Letters to inform me of what had happened since our Departure: That about an hour and half after we left *London* a Messenger from the Council of State came to the House where I lodged, with an Order requiring me to appear before them; assuring my Relations he had the like Orders for summoning Mr. *Miles Corbet*, Col. *John Jones* and Col. *Thomlinson*, Commissioners of Parliament for the Affairs of *Ireland*, to attend the said Council: That the Messenger being earnest to know whither I was gone, that he might give the more certain account to those that sent him; my Sister *Kempson*, doubting they might send after me and seize me, had refused to answer that Question; and that my Mother *Oldsworth* fearing my Sister's Refusal might increase the Jealousy of the Council of State, and put them upon taking some extream

Measures against me, had prevailed with my Father-in-Law her Husband to wait on the Council the next Morning, and to inform them whither I was gone, and the Cause of my Removal from *London*. Having received this account, and soon concluding that the Council either had already, or would send speedily after me, I mounted my led Horse, that I might be the better prepared to make my Escape, if I should happen to be pursued; and lest they should have waylaid me on the Road, I divided my little Company, directing my Wife with the Chariot and two Servants to take the common Road by *Bagshot*, whilst I with a Groom crossed the Heath, and declined all publick Roads: So that my Wife and I met not, till towards the Evening I perceived her coming by a private way, which it was necessary to pass before she could reach the House of my Cousin *Robert Wallop* at *Farley*, where we had agreed to remain that Night. There we found Mr. *Nicholas Love*, who had been one of the late King's Judges, and who arrived there just before us. Soon after our Arrival, Mr. *Wallop* who had been at a Mannor called *Husbands* belonging to him, came home, and received us with his usual Generosity and cordial Affection, expressing no less Zeal to the Commonwealth than when it was in its highest Prosperity. And tho I acquainted him with the State of my Affairs, and with the Proceedings of the Council

cil in relation to me, he earneſtly deſired me to continue at his Houſe: But I thought it not decent ſo to do; and therefore after two Nights ſtay I took leave of him, and went to *Sutton*, where I lay with as much Privacy as I could, having diſcovered that the Maſter of the Inn had been one of the late King's Guard, and paſſionately affected to the Cavalier Intereſt. The next day I went to the Houſe of my Couſin *William Ludlow* at *Clarendon*, where I was informed that Mr. *Bainton*, whom I had promiſed to ſerve in the enſuing Election, had deſiſted from his Deſign, and that Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper* and Mr. *Earnly* were likely to be choſen. However to make good my Promiſe, I ſent a Letter to him to let him know I was come into the Country, and to offer him what Service I could, if he perſiſted in his Intentions to ſtand for the County of *Wilts*. Having diſpatched this Meſſage, and doubting the Council of State might ſend to ſeize, or at leaſt to ſummon me, I went privately from *Clarendon* to *Salisbury*, and took up my Lodgings at the Houſe of one Mr. *Traughton*, a Miniſter of that City; where after I had been two or three days, I received a Letter from my Father *Oldſworth*, by which I underſtood he had been with thoſe of the Council of State, and having informed them that the Deſign of my Journey into the Country was in order to ſettle my Affairs there, they ſeemed to be well ſatiſ-

fied. He acquainted me alſo that Mr. *Miles Corbet*, Col. *John Jones*, and Col. *Thomlinſon*, had attended the Council in obedience to their Summons, and were not permitted to depart, till they had ſigned an Engagement to give no Diſturbance to the preſent Power. The Conſideration of this Proceeding towards them made me ſet a higher value on my Deliverance from their Hands than I had hitherto done. For if I had not left the Town when I did, the Summons from the Council had been ſerved upon me; and if I had not appeared, it would have been taken as a Contempt: but if I had appeared, they would undoubtedly have tendered me the like Engagement to ſign, which I could not have done any more than that which was required from me by *Cromwel*, and ſo might have been impriſoned, and in all probability detained till the Return of *Charles Stuart*.

The time of the Election drawing near, I ſent a Meſſenger to Mr. *Bainton* for his laſt Reſolution in that matter, who returned me this Anſwer, That having had a Meeting with the Gentlemen of the Country at the *Deviſes*, he had reſolved not to put his Friends to the trouble of appearing for him, judging it the beſt way rather to ſwim with the Stream than to be born down by it. Being thus diſcharged of my Engagement to Mr. *Bainton*, I went to *Maiden Bradley*, and held a Court at *Yardenfield*, that I might raiſe what Mo-

Money I could amongſt my Tenants, by filling up Eſtates and changing Lives: which having diſpatched, I went to my Mannor of *Knoyle* for the ſame end; and being there, was much importuned by the Inhabitants of the Borough of *Hinden*, part of the ſaid Mannor, to be one of their Burgeſſes in the Aſſembly that was to meet at *Weſtminſter*. Tho I durſt not deſire any to confer ſo great a Truſt on me, yet I confeſs it was no ſmall Contentment to me, that they would manifeſt their Reſpects to my Perſon, and their Remembrance of my Services, whatſoever they had been, in ſuch a Conjuncture, when the Cavalier Party, with what Deſign may eaſily be conjectured, had printed the Names of the late King's Judges, of which Number I had the Honour to be one; and when that Intereſt was already become ſo prevalent, that the Heir of the Lord *Cottington*, tho a Papiſt and an Ideot, had found a Party ſufficient to put him into poſſeſſion of *Founthil* Houſe, which had been given by the Parliament to the Lord Preſident *Bradſhaw*, and to maintain him therein by open Violence againſt the Kinſman and Heir of the ſaid Preſident.

Having finiſhed my private Affairs as well as I could, I was willing to have it believed that I was gone to *Salisbury*, and therefore ſet forward on that way; but to defeat, if poſſible, the Malice of my Enemies, I went not far before I quitted that Road; and having ſent my

Chariot, wherein my Wife was, to *Salisbury*, I mounted on Horseback, and passing over the Hills that lie towards *Somersetshire*, I went to the House of my Brother *Strangways* at *East-Charleton*, where I staid about four days as privately as I could, my Horses being watered within the Walls of the House, and the Servants commanded to be silent concerning me.

The time of Election for the Borough of *Hinden* being come, the Persons in Nomination were Mr. *How* of *Berwick*, Sir *Thomas Thynne*, and my self. All agreed to chuse Mr. *How*, so that the Dispute lay between Sir *Thomas* and Me. The number of the Electors was about twenty six, of whom I had nineteen Voices, and was thereupon declared by the Bailiff to be elected with Mr. *How* to serve for that Borough. The Indentures were signed, and the Writ returned to the Sheriff according to Custom. But the Agents of Sir *Thomas Thynne* being unwilling to lose all their Trouble and Expence, and guessing upon probable Grounds, that if they could bring the Case before the next Assembly, they should certainly carry it against me, signed another Indenture for Mr. *How* and Sir *Thomas Thynne*, making up in Number what they wanted in Quality, taking the Subscriptions of the Rabble, who not only paid nothing either to the State, Church or Poor, but also received the Publick Alms of the Parish: And to gain these they were obliged

obliged to descend to the most unworthy Artifices, affirming that I was already fled, and that they should certainly be destroyed by the King if they elected me.

Before I went into *Somersetshire* I had ordered one of my Tenants, of whose Fidelity I had good assurance, to find out some private House where I might remain till I could better discern what course to take. Having made a diligent Inquiry, he came to me with an account that he had found out divers places, whereof I might make choice of that which I should best approve for my Retirement, which accordingly I did, and was received with hearty Affection; and during the time I staid there, enjoyed great Satisfaction in the Conversation of the good Man of the House, who was a Lover of his Country, Possessor of an Estate of about one hundred Pounds by year in free Land; above Contempt, and below Envy. After I had been with him about eight days, I thought I might without much hazard give my Wife a visit at *Salisbury*; and accordingly I went thither in the Night, and lay there. The next day being Sunday, News was brought to that place that Major General *Lambert* had made his escape out of the Tower, and that it was supposed he would be able to draw a considerable part of the Army into a Body speedily. Hereupon, not doubting that the utmost diligence would be used to seize *Lambert*, and knowing that those

thoſe of *Salisbury* were informed that I was in thoſe parts, I returned to my former Lodging, where I had not been above two or three days, when the Man that had aſſiſted Major General *Lambert* in his eſcape, came to me with a Meſſage from him, to acquaint me that divers Officers of the Army had been with him; that they had agreed upon two places of rendezvouz, and had diſperſed themſelves to their reſpective Countries in order to put their Deſign in execution; that they had received Aſſurances that the greateſt part of the Army would join with them, and therefore deſired that I would give Orders for the Forces in the Weſtern Parts to draw together, and that I would meet him at the head of them in the County of *Oxford.* But I thought it not prudent to engage my Friends in ſo publick a manner, till I ſhould ſee ſome probability of making a ſtand, whereof I conceived I might give ſome gueſs by *Lambert*'s firſt Rendezvouz, which was appointed to be about *Daventry.* In the mean time I diſpatched Meſſengers to ſeveral Officers that commanded the Forces in the Counties of *Dorſet*, *Somerſet* and *Wilts*, to be ready to march if there ſhould be occaſion. I received aſſurance from a conſiderable Party about *Taunton*, that the Caſtle ſhould be ſecured for the Publick Service, and had divers Promiſes of the ſame nature from other Places. The Horſe that lay at *Salisbury* began to ſtagger, and I doubt

doubt not would have been honeſt if they had ſeen a Force ſufficient to have made it reaſonable for them to appear. About eight days after my return from *Salisbury*, one Major *Whitby* came to me from Major General *Lambert* to acquaint me with his Intentions, and to conſult with me concerning the beſt way of drawing together the Forces on our ſide. He aſſured me that about one thouſand Horſe were already with *Lambert*, and that he had good aſſurance that moſt part of the Army would join with him. Having received this Information, and being willing to hazard all with Major General *Lambert* or any other Perſons, if I might be ſatisfied they aimed at the good of the Commonwealth, I deſired to know what *Lambert*, had or would declare for, it being as I thought the Duty of every Man to inform himſelf of the Juſtice of the Cauſe before he engageth himſelf in it. Major *Whitby* anſwered, that it was not now a time to declare what we would be for, but what we would be againſt, which was that Torrent of Tyranny and Popery that was ready to break in upon us. To which I replied, that the beſt way to prevent thoſe Miſchiefs, would be to agree upon ſomething that might be contrary to them, not ſo much in Name as in the Nature of it, whereby we might juſtly hope to engage all good Men to favour and aſſiſt us in our Enterprize; and that the utmoſt care ought to be taken

ken to convince the Nation of the Sincerity and Juſtice of our Intentions, eſpecially ſince all Men knew they had been ſo lately cheated by advancing a Perſonal inſtead of a Publick Intereſt, and therefore not likely to be ſo eaſily taken with the ſame Bait again. So having communicated to me what he had in truſt, and having received my Anſwer, the Major departed; and two or three days after an account was brought to me, that Major General *Lambert*'s Party was diſperſed, and himſelf taken Priſoner by Col. *Ingoldsby*. To which Defeat an Accident that happened did not a little contribute; for ſome of *Ingoldsby*'s Party in their march had met Capt. *Haſlerig*, Son to Sir *Arthur*, and knowing his Troop to be with *Lambert*, they ſeized him and brought him to Col. *Ingoldsby*, where he ſaid, that being diſſatisfied with *Lambert*'s Deſign, he had quitted the Party, and thereby hoped to be ſet at liberty. But *Ingoldsby* told him, that unleſs he would bring off his Troop alſo from *Lambert*, his deſerting them ſhould be of no advantage to him. He promiſed to uſe the beſt of his Endeavours to ſerve him, and thereupon was permitted to return to *Lambert*. When the two Parties were ready to engage, he brought off his Troop as he had promiſed to endeavour, which cauſed ſuch a Conſternation in the reſt of the Party, that many of them went over to *Ingoldsby*, and moſt part of thoſe who did not think fit to follow

their

their Example, ſhifted for themſelves as well as they could, leaving *Lambert* talking with *Ingoldsby*, and endeavouring to diſſuade him from engaging any farther againſt him. But Col. *Ingoldsby* perceiving that *Lambert*'s Party had abandoned him, rid up cloſe to him and required him to yield himſelf Priſoner, which after a ſhort Heſitation he did, deſiring *Ingoldsby*'s Lordſhip, as he called him, to give him leave to eſcape. Col. *Cobbet*, Major *Creed*, and ſome other Officers were taken Priſoners, and with Major Gen. *Lambert* committed to the Tower. Thus our Enemies were thoſe of our own Houſe, and it was not the King's Party that could deſtroy us; which as it ought to be a Subject of Humiliation to us, ſo it can be no juſt Cauſe of Exaltation to them. Being thus deprived of an Opportunity of appearing in the Field for the Service of my Country, I reſolved to go to *London*, and there to wait the Pleaſure of God, either by acting or ſuffering in his Cauſe; where being arrived, I took up my Lodging at the Houſe of a Friend who lived in *Holborn*, and endeavouring to learn what Major General *Lambert* deſigned to have done if he had kept his ground, I was informed that he had prepared two Declarations very different from each other, intending to publiſh that which might have procured him the greater Party; but becauſe it could not be agreed which of them was moſt likely to do ſo, he had thought

thought fit to publiſh neither. Hitherto *Monk* had continued to make ſolemn Proteſtations of his Affection and Fidelity to the Commonwealth-Intereſt, againſt a King and Houſe of Lords; but the New Militia being ſettled, and a Convention, calling themſelves a Parliament and fit for his purpoſe, being met at *Weſtminſter*, he ſent to ſuch Lords as had ſate with the Parliament till 1648, to return to the Place where they uſed to ſit, which they did, upon aſſurance from him, that no others ſhould be permitted to ſit with them; which promiſe he alſo broke, and let in not only ſuch as had deſerted to *Oxford*, but the late created Lords. And *Charles Stuart*, eldeſt Son to the late King, being informed of theſe Tranſactions, left the Spaniſh Territories where he then reſided, and by the Advice of *Monk* went to *Breda*, a Town belonging to the States of *Holland*: From whence he ſent his Letters and a Declaration to the two Houſes by Sir *John Greenvil*; whereupon the Nominal Houſe of Commons, tho called by a Commonwealth Writ in the Name of the Keepers of the Liberties of *England*, paſſed a Vote, That the Government of the Nation ſhould be by a King, Lords and Commons, and that *Charles Stuart* ſhould be proclaimed King of *England*, &c.

FINIS.